

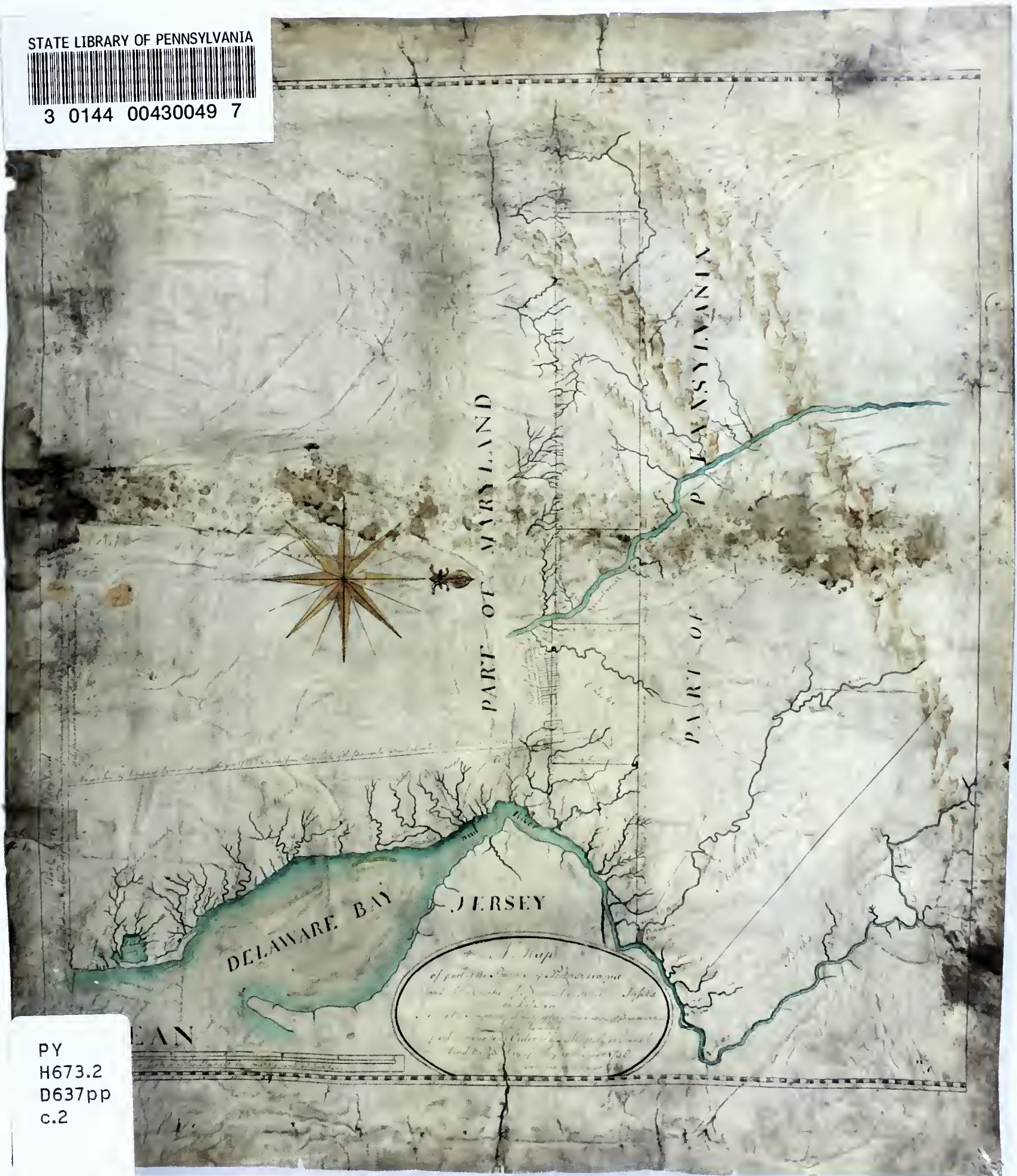
Documenting Pennsylvania's Past

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE ARCHIVES

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Documenting Pennsylvania's Past

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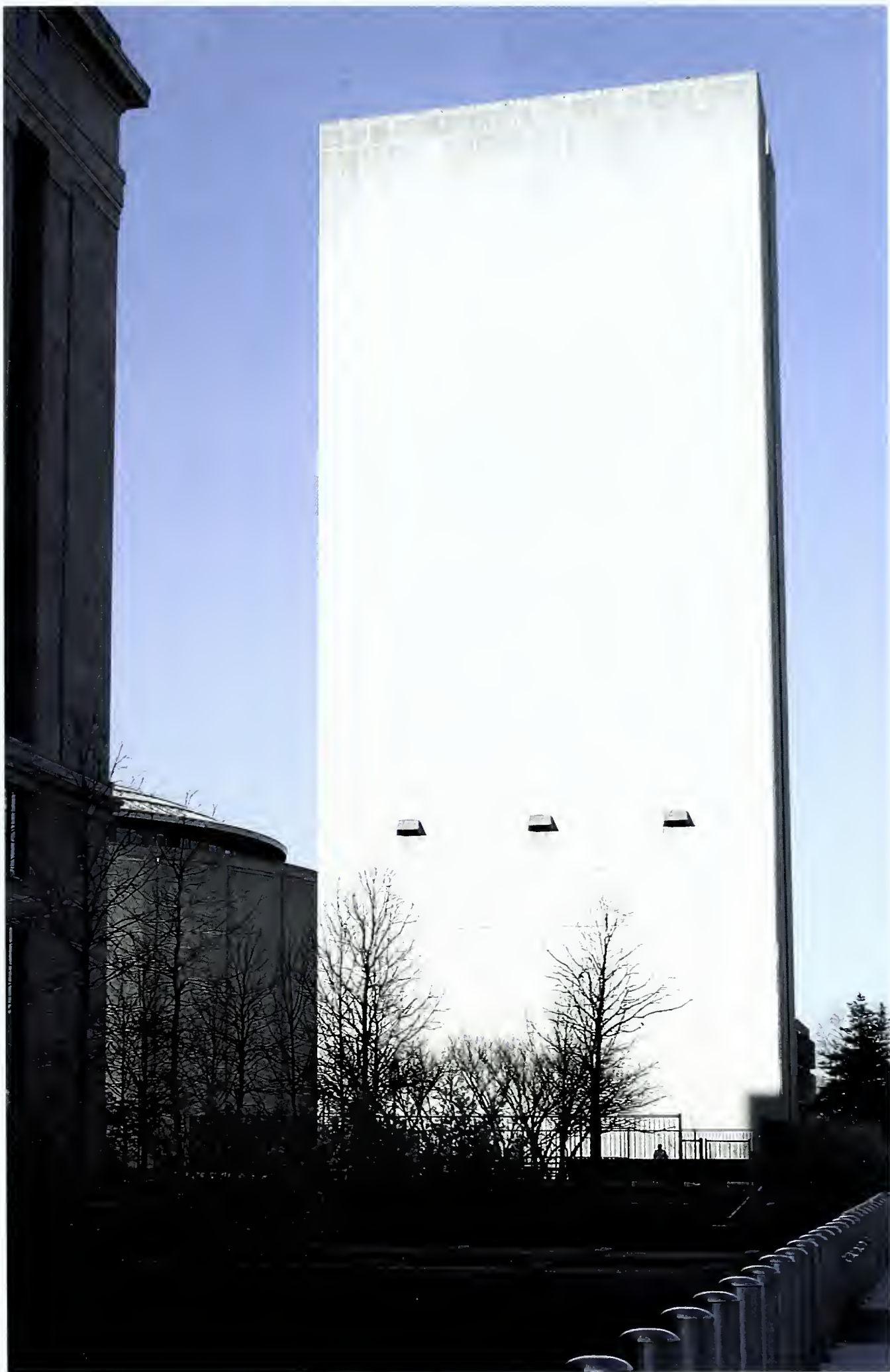
The archives of a state or a nation are a fragile legacy. If not for the survival of the records that document our past, we would possess nothing but mythology and legend. Government records originally created to protect property rights or to document the payment of taxes, immigration, or military service continue to serve us in invaluable and unanticipated ways.

The Pennsylvania State Archives is a treasure trove of documents, maps, photographs, and public records that reveal the thrilling events, diverse peoples, and competing visions that comprise the raw materials which tell the rich history of Pennsylvania.

Documenting Pennsylvania's Past celebrates the centennial of the founding of the Pennsylvania State Archives. It traces the history of the Archives from its modest beginnings as the Division of Public Records in the State Library in 1903, to its incorporation into the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1945, to the present-day challenges of managing records created by twenty-first century technologies.

In a book celebrating the centennial of the founding of the State Archives, however, the emphasis is fittingly on the documents. Early maps, photographs, posters, land surveys, legal records, journal entries, letters, and architectural drawings provide a glimpse of the richness of the Archive's collections. Each image, or set of images, is accompanied by an illuminating narrative revealing some of the fascinating stories that are associated with each of the records. *Documenting Pennsylvania's Past* provides a guided tour to some of the most precious and fragile relics of the Commonwealth's historical memory.





▲ A view from the north east of the Pennsylvania State Archives tower as it appears today. Photo by Don Giles.

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Documenting Pennsylvania's Past

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA STATE ARCHIVES

EDITED BY WILLIS L. SHIRK JR.

FOREWORD BY FRANK M. SURAN
STATE ARCHIVIST OF PENNSYLVANIA

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION
HARRISBURG, 2003

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All photos appearing in this book have been
drawn from the extensive collections of the
Pennsylvania State Archives.

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▲ The seal used to certify documents in 1945 was based on an earlier seal used by the Master of Rolls.



• Clerical staff of the Division of Public Records (1926) in the old State Library and Museum Building, now the Speaker Matthew J. Ryan Legislative Office Building.

This book was written to celebrate the centennial of the Pennsylvania State Archives which was established in 1903 as the Division of Public Records under the State Library of Pennsylvania. In keeping with the three standard definitions of the word “archives” it provides a history of the organization, references to the buildings that housed the organization, and a glimpse at the records themselves with a definite emphasis on documents in the collection. One of the core responsibilities of state government is to maintain a record of its policies, decisions, and significant activities while providing its citizens with an accurate account of the performance of elected officials and agencies over time. This is the job that was assigned to the State Library in 1903 and later transferred to the newly-created Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1945.

Over the past one hundred years the Pennsylvania State Archives has at times struggled to fulfill its mandate with its fair share of successes and failures. In the first half of its existence, the lack of adequate program and records storage space, coupled with the absence of a mature methodology for administering archival records, limited the ability of its staff to meet expectations. Confined to one room in the old State Library and Museum Building, now the Speaker Matthew J. Ryan Legislative Office Building, it was only natural that the Archives confined its activities to general reference work, the care of a relative handful of original records of the provincial and early state government, and the completion of the 138-volume *Pennsylvania Archives* series. Moving into slightly larger quarters in 1931 in the Education Building provided only a small amount of space for expansion. It was in the early 1930s that the *Pennsylvania Archives* series was

completed with the publication of eighteen volumes of the *Eighth* and *Ninth Series*. With the 1930s came involvement with various survey projects funded by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) including the survey of records in county courthouses.

Though many state archival agencies are combined organizationally with a state library, oftentimes under the aegis of a department of state, in 1945 Pennsylvania moved to create a comprehensive public history agency when it combined the Pennsylvania State Museum, the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, and the Pennsylvania State Archives to create the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC). The PHMC was given the task of operating the State Museum of Pennsylvania, as well as the historical marker, archaeology, and over time historic preservation programs, and some sixty historic sites and museums. This shift in its bureaucratic placement from its former parent agency, the State Library under the Department of Public Instruction, now known as the Department of Education, to a public history agency would present new opportunities and challenges for the PHMC staff entrusted with the archival function.

In the last five decades, the maturation and clarification of archival practices, combined with the opening of the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building in late 1964, has enabled the staff to take full advantage of numerous opportunities which have come their way. Many external developments have also had a profound effect on the direction and delivery of Pennsylvania’s archival program. The formation of a national association of state archivists in 1974, now known as the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administrators (NAGARA) and the National Historical

Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), the granting arm of the National Archives, also in 1974, were especially critical in transforming the Pennsylvania State Archives into a modern "full-service" government archival agency. Grants providing important seed money from the NHPRC were responsible for the implementation of a local government records program on behalf of the Commonwealth's more than fifty-four hundred units of local government and a critical ingredient which led Governor Robert P. Casey in 1992 to transfer the Executive Branch Records Management Program to the State Archives. It has also resulted in significant support from the Governor's Office of Administration for the management of electronic records created by executive branch departments, boards, and commissions.

I would like to thank Dr. Brent D. Glass, former executive director, and John C. Wesley, interim executive director of the PHMC, who made this publication possible. A special thanks is extended to Leon J. Stout who prepared *Historical Records in Pennsylvania, An Assessment Report for the State Historical Records Advisory Board* in 1983. This report served as the basis for most of the history of the Pennsylvania State Archives contained in Part I, and Mr. Stout has been very generous with his time in providing continuing assistance on this project. He is currently Head of Public Services and Outreach for Special Collections at the Pennsylvania State University Libraries and is a member of the State Historical Records Advisory Board.

Additional information and sections in Part I were provided by Harry Parker, Willis Shirk, Louis Waddell, Diane Smith

Wallace, and myself. Individual entries in Part II were researched and written by Archives staff members Jason Amico, Cindy Bendroth, Jerry Ellis, Susan Hartman, Anne Marie Ickes, Sharon Nelson, Brett Reigh, Linda Ries, Richard Saylor, Michael Sherbon, Willis Shirk, David Shoff, John Slonaker, Jonathan Stayer, Louis Waddell, and Diane Smith Wallace. Useful suggestions and criticism for individual narratives were provided by Ruth Arnold, James Beidler, Toni Collins, George Beyer, Delores Buchsen, Richard Cameron, David W. Dunn, Ruthann Hubbert-Kemper, Harold L. Myers, John Shelly, Linda Shopes, Eric Ledell Smith, Steve Somers, Ken Wolensky, Barbara Zolli, and John Zwierzyna. I thank Brett Reigh, Jerry Ellis, Cara McKay, Sharon Nelson, and Harry Parker for the in-house digital imaging of original records. We also extend our appreciation to Marty Ginter at Commonwealth Media Services for the digital photography of large maps and other oversize items. Special thanks go to PHMC librarians Paula Heiman and Sally Biel who assisted in locating hard-to-find reference materials. Willis L. Shirk Jr. served as project editor. Harry Parker, Diane Smith Wallace, and I served as general editors. Kim Lackey Krammes created the design and layout and our Chief of Publications Diane B. Reed was responsible for the final editing.



Frank M. Suran
State Archivist of Pennsylvania

Part I



EDUCATION BUILDING, STATE CAPITOL PARK, HARRISBURG, PA.

2A-M1058

▲ Postcard depicting the new Education Building where the Archives were housed in three rooms on the second floor from 1931 to 1964.



▲ Group portrait of commissioners of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, ca. 1930. Among them are Henry Shoemaker (left) and Hiram Shenk (right). Shenk was state archaeologist from 1916 to 1933 and Shoemaker from 1936 to 1948.

The Pennsylvania State Archives was originally created as the Division of Public Records in the State Library of Pennsylvania by Act 135 that was approved on April 14, 1903. It emerged at

a time of growing interest in history and concern for the records of the Commonwealth, and was the culmination of over 110 years of intermittent efforts to protect Pennsylvania's documentary past. Commemorative efforts on the state level for the centennials of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were paralleled by the development of local historical societies and patriotic groups whose membership was based on genealogical research. During this period, an unprecedented outpouring of local pride brought forth hundreds of county and local histories, county atlases, biographical compendiums, and bird's-eye-view lithographs of Pennsylvania towns.

The period between the 1870s and 1900 also witnessed a change in the nature of the American historical profession. Increasing numbers of scholars were emerging from the German historical-seminar movement with a commitment to "scientific method" in history.¹ These scholars were interested primarily in institutional history, and they relied on archives of governmental records as no historians had before. Further evidence of the awakening professional attitude was the founding of the American Historical Association in 1884, soon followed by the association's creation of a Historical Manuscripts Commission and, in 1899, a Public Archives Commission to study the condition and availability of these documentary resources.

The status of Pennsylvania's historical records was the subject of one of the first reports of the Public Archives Commission, authored by University of Pennsylvania professor Herman Ames.

While various officers had long been empowered to keep and store specific categories of government records, during the first half of the nineteenth century records accumulated in the various departments largely "by force of custom and propriety, rather than by statute," as Ames put it.² He traced the Commonwealth's rather feeble attempts at legislative enactment concerning the care of records, and gave a detailed account of the types and topics of records he had found in the keeping of the State Library of Pennsylvania, auditor general, and the secretary of the Commonwealth. Not surprisingly, he concluded that "the care and preservation of the archives are far from satisfactory," and Ames noted that basement and attic storage, mutilation and theft, and the danger of rats, fire, and dampness were all contributing to a humiliating neglect.³ He also noted that while the Capitol fire of 1897 had fortunately destroyed few records, the overall conditions had changed little since an 1851 legislative committee studied the condition of the state's records and found that the records "in their present condition are useless and, indeed, fast perishing."⁴ Ames' report helped to solidify a growing feeling that some positive action needed to be taken to protect the Commonwealth's endangered documentary heritage.

An opportunity to remedy the situation was presented with the January 1903 inauguration of Judge Samuel Pennypacker as governor. On February 10, 1903, the first of two overlapping bills proposing preservation and public access to state documents of historical value was presented by Representative Thomas V. Cooper of Delaware County, who had in 1882 published a thousand-page volume of documents entitled *American Politics*. Cooper's manuscripts preservation bill created an unsalaried, gubernatorial-appointed, commission of three who would be

APRIL 14, 1903 ACT 135. FOR THE CREATION AND GOVERNMENT OF A DIVISION OF THE STATE LIBRARY, FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PUBLIC RECORDS.

- ◆ Created a Division of Public Records within the State Library to preserve all public records throughout the Commonwealth especially state government records of historical value.
- ◆ Governed by trustees of the State Library of Pennsylvania under the direction of the state librarian, the division was to collect, classify, preserve, and make records available.
- ◆ All state government departments required to transfer all records up to the year 1750 not needed for business.
- ◆ Created a five-member advisory commission of public records, appointed by the governor, to meet annually with the library trustees and state librarian, and make recommendations to the state legislature.

APRIL 15, 1903 JOINT RESOLUTION 3. TO PRESERVE THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

- ◆ Authorized the governor to appoint three commissioners skilled in the work of mending and preserving old manuscript papers.
- ◆ Commissioners to employ and supervise individuals to clean, press, mend, classify, catalogue, and bind papers to be placed in the State Library.
- ◆ Appropriated \$10,000 for use of commissioners.

JUNE 8, 1907 ACT 316. AMENDMENT TO ACT 135.

- ◆ Enlarged the advisory commission of public records from five to seven members.

APRIL 27, 1911 ACT 92. AMENDMENT TO ACT 135.

- ◆ Removed the 1750 cutoff date for state government department records required to be deposited with the division.
- ◆ Authorized the transfer of county and municipal records.

MAY 14, 1915 ACT 232. AMENDMENT TO ACT 135.

- ◆ Created the position of supervisor of public records under the state librarian.
- ◆ Made supervisor responsible for examining conditions of records in public offices of counties, cities, and boroughs.
- ◆ Authorized supervisor to recommend any actions necessary to secure the safety and preservation of public records and to assure the enforcement of laws regarding public records.
- ◆ Made the supervisor responsible for submitting an annual report to the state librarian including information on public records maintained by counties, cities, and boroughs.

skilled in mending and preserving old manuscripts, who would supervise a work force that would "clean, press, mend, in suitable form, classify and catalog," old manuscripts belonging to the state, "which the said commission shall cause to be bound and then placed in the Library of the State. . . ." Although vague, the bill passed the House and went to the Senate, but on March 5, 1903, Representative Ward R. Bliss, also from Delaware County, introduced a bill for the creation of a public records division within the State Library. The two measures attracted little attention, and the newspapers did not call attention to the apparent duplication between the two. One of the few newspaper comments was the *North American's* impish reference to the division as "the cobweb bureau."⁵

The Bliss bill passed on April 14, 1903, as Act 135. It created the Division of Public Records as part of the State Library of Pennsylvania "which shall be devoted to the preservation of all public records throughout the Commonwealth, but which shall especially have custody of all public records of state government, not in current use, and consequently, primarily, of historical value." Agencies were required to deposit those records which had been created before 1750 and were no longer needed for day to day operations. Why 1750 was chosen as a cut off is uncertain, but it served to ensure that the earliest surviving documents would receive attention. It also was a way to launch the new unit with a reasonably manageable scope of work and to minimize the expense and workspace required. Act 135 also created a five-member advisory commission to be appointed by the governor. In its final form, the Cooper bill became Joint Resolution No. 3 of April 15, 1903. It authorized the governor to appoint three commissioners to oversee the preservation of the historical manuscript archives of the Commonwealth and appropriated \$10,000 for costs, but the resolution did not provide for a work location nor did it specify what documents were meant to be preserved. In May 1903 Act 496 provided for a two year appropriation of \$8,000 for the new Division of Public Records. Subsequent amendments to Act 135 in 1907, 1911, and 1915 increased the size of the advisory commission from five to seven members, removed the 1750 cutoff date for state agency records required to be transferred to the division, specifically authorized the transfer of county and municipal records to the division, and created the position of supervisor of public records.

THE DIVISION OF PUBLIC RECORDS

Ernst Posner's *American State Archives* describes the two primary patterns for the establishment of state archival institutions. The first developed in the South under governmental departments of archives and history, beginning in 1898 in Alabama. The second originated with non-governmental state historical societies in the Midwest, beginning with Kansas and Nebraska in 1905.⁶ Pennsylvania's establishment of a Division of Public Records under the State Library of Pennsylvania followed what might be termed a mid-Atlantic pattern beginning in New York in 1895 and also occurring in New Jersey and Connecticut. That it followed a certain historical manuscripts approach is understandable. This was the accepted method for the care and treatment of historical documents as pioneered in Massachusetts in the 1830s.

The report of Luther R. Kelker, the first custodian of the public records, for 1903 provides a fascinating preview of the division's activities for the years to come. On July 6, 1903, he reported to the state librarian that he had visited the New York State Library in Albany, the Astor-Lenox libraries in New York City, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library of

Congress to acquaint himself with current practices. These consisted of flattening documents, making repairs by silking or patching with handmade paper, and mounting them in volumes chronologically or by subject. In most libraries, item cards were usually filed by name of writer, correspondent, and/or subject, and these constituted the descriptive system. New York State assigned documents to volumes by department but "catalogued" the volumes by the Dewey system. The silking and binding technique used by the Library of Congress and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was adopted, and one of Kelker's assistants was dispatched to Philadelphia to be trained by Miss J. C. Wiley at the latter institution.

The Division of Public Records was originally allocated one room in the basement of the Library and Museum Building, now known as the Speaker Matthew J. Ryan Legislative Office Building. The room was approximately 1,750 square feet (thirty-five by fifty feet) with a ceiling height of eight feet and contained eleven windows that afforded both natural light and proper ventilation. The room was fitted with twenty-four steel cases, each accommodating about one hundred cubic feet of material in drawers and moveable shelves. Kelker noted that following unpacking, he and "the eight young ladies engaged to assist" him set to work on October 19, 1903, to arrange and mount the documents. Kelker had devised a classification scheme of one hundred twenty-four divisions and subdivisions based on chronological, topical and geographical headings. He began with a budget of \$4,000 and the hopes of beginning a collection of private manuscripts relating to Pennsylvania military history as well as re-editing the *Second* and *Third Series* of the *Pennsylvania Archives*.⁷

The drive to publish primary source data was typical of the time. The publishing of colonial and revolutionary documents, as well as the dispatching of expeditions abroad to copy records from English, French, Dutch, and Spanish archives relating to America, has been dubbed "documania."⁸ As the Revolutionary War generation began to pass from the scene, historical interests in eastern states launched publishing ventures as a means of both preserving and disseminating the documentary heritage. Fourteen years after the founding of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1824, one of its founders, Peter DuPonceau, decided to gather and print Pennsylvania's most significant executive records, the Minutes of the Provincial Council. Between 1838 and 1840, three volumes entitled *Colonial Records*

RECORDS:

Any recorded information, regardless of physical form or characteristics, that documents a transaction or activity of an organization or institution and that is created, received or retained by an organization or institution in pursuance of its legal obligations or in connection with the transaction of business.

PERSONAL PAPERS:

Private documents accumulated by an individual, belonging to him or her and subject to his or her disposition.

MANUSCRIPTS:

Individual documents, primarily textual, that have literary or historical value. Manuscripts are often paper-based textual records.

ARCHIVES:

1. The noncurrent records of an organization or institution selected for permanent preservation because of their continuing value.
2. The agency responsible for selecting, preserving, and making archival records available for use.
3. The physical building/room in which the records are held.



◀ The east facade of the old State Library and Museum Building, now the Ryan Building, where the Division of Public Records was first housed in 1903.

appeared. This marked the beginning of a century of state-sponsored documentary publication culminating with the *Ninth Series* of the *Pennsylvania Archives* which was completed in 1935 (see p. 29).

In 1931, the State Library, together with the Division of Public Records and other components of the Department of Public Instruction, moved into the recently-constructed Education Building, now referred to as the Forum Building. The State Archives occupied several rooms with a combined total of 4,596 square feet. This period during which the Archives was part of the State Library has not been assessed charitably by some historians. Looking backward in 1941, Eugene Maur Braderman and Bernard Shaw Levin, state supervisor and state editor respectively of the *Pennsylvania Historical Records Survey*, termed the "right of Pennsylvanians to consult their public records" a "legal fiction."⁹ The division was "in no real sense a hall of records" and practiced "no recognizable principles of archival economy."¹⁰ Braderman and Levin also noted that while the holdings of records of the colonial and Revolutionary War periods seemed to them fairly complete, they termed the later materials "in no sense the archives of the executive . . . merely a motley mass of documents" with considerable gaps and an overemphasis on collections of personal papers.¹¹ Frank Evans, state archivist from 1961 to 1963, responded to these earlier criticisms in part by noting that provenance as a method of arrangement in 1941 was still a

new technique—even at the National Archives—and many other outstanding institutions had not yet considered adopting it. Furthermore, Evans asserted that the Pennsylvania State Archives, while under the Department of Public Instruction, had a very narrow statutory base and had to function with poor space, a small staff, and a pitiful budget.¹²

Even so, Evans characterized the first forty years of the Archives as essentially a period of stagnation. While the 1911 amendment to Act 135 removed the 1750 cutoff date for state government department records deposited with the Division of Public Records, staff members under the direction of Luther Kelker (1903–15), Dr. Hiram Shenk (1916–33), and Dr. Curtis Garrison (1933–36) had spent much of their time producing the forty-six volumes of the *Fifth* through *Ninth Series* of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, thus completing the 138-volume publication begun in 1838, and acquiring materials of genealogical research value. Little was done to address the challenges of modern records in state government. The vast bulk of public records was not systematically examined, and a position for supervisor of public records for county, city, and borough records, created by Act 232 of 1915, was never filled.

Any review of the reports of the Archives Division from 1903 to 1945 will leave the reader with the sense that it was fairly typical of other historical records repositories of the era. Most

notable in the custodial reports was the lack of comments on accessions. What new materials were mentioned were usually private manuscripts. Every year saw dozens of additional bound volumes of records created, extensive indexing prepared, hundreds of military certificates issued, and thousands of letters answered. The genealogical emphasis was obvious, not only from the selection and indexing of the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. When Kelker died, State Librarian Thomas Montgomery noted that Kelker had been selected as Custodian of Public Records because of his "interest in Pennsylvania history and his familiarity with the muster rolls and marriage records."¹³ In 1924, all the genealogical and Pennsylvania history reference



Overcrowded storage cabinets and piles of archival records in the Education Building illustrated the need for more space.

activities of the General Library Bureau were transferred to the division which had been renamed the Archives and History Section, and a genealogist and an assistant were hired in 1924 and 1926.

The appointment in 1933 of Dr. Curtis W. Garrison of the Library of Congress as head of the Pennsylvania State Archives was the only change in this long period. Garrison wanted to actively seek state records and instituted the provenance method of arrangement, placed records in boxes, and created inventories and a record of accessions. He also initiated a survey of Pennsylvania's historical records under a Civil Works Administration grant (precursor to the Historical Records Survey) in December 1933. Unfortunately Garrison's tenure lasted only three years. With the hiring of Henry Shoemaker in 1936, the reports—and one suspects the practices and priorities—of the past returned.

During the depression of the 1930s, the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, created by Act 777 of 1913 to place historical markers around the state and preserve historic buildings and monuments, supervised the Historical Records Survey and

other projects funded by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), including the county courthouse surveys. Given the long-standing mandate for preservation of records of political subdivisions, one might have predicted the State Archives would have assumed this responsibility. Instead, its WPA projects focused on indexing the *Eighth* and *Ninth Series* of the *Pennsylvania Archives*. During World War II, staff reductions further weakened the State Archives, and one can only speculate about the impact of waste-paper drives on potential archival records. Shoemaker had reported that the State Archives worked with the Historical Commission in examining the records of all state departments and preserved "all records considered to be of historical value,"¹⁴ However, Evans believed that these drives resulted in extensive losses of inactive records.¹⁵

ARCHIVES UNDER THE PHMC

The Archives remained an organizational unit under the State Library of Pennsylvania until 1945, when it joined the State Museum and the Pennsylvania Historical Commission in moving from the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Instruction, where they had been since the passage of the first Administrative Code in 1923, to that of the new, independent Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC). The establishment of the PHMC was brought about through the combined efforts of the state's historical organizations to remedy the obvious inadequacies of the Historical Commission, State Museum, and State Archives under the Department of Public Instruction. The work of the Historical Commission, especially in historical property management, had grown beyond the capabilities of a small staff and a volunteer board; the State Museum's collections continued to outgrow the space in what is now known as the Ryan Building; and the State Archives required more space and staff and a general programmatic overhaul.¹⁶ Thanks to the interest of Governor Edward Martin, a new independent commission was created by Act 446 which was approved on June 6, 1945.

Among the committees of commissioners set up to plan for new activities was one for the State Archives headed by Richard Norris Williams of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The committee's most significant step was to move Shoemaker to the staff of State Historian Sylvester K. Stevens, and to hire in 1948 Acting Director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History Henry Howard Eddy, who served as State Archivist from 1948–61. Henry Eddy quickly realized that major changes were necessary. In reviewing the state's archival past and future for the Society of American Archivists 1948 annual meeting, Eddy noted that Pennsylvania had lacked a commanding figure to mold a strong archival organization. His judgment was that Pennsylvania "is only now coming to realize that for the lack of an adequate and continuing program to control her wealth of official records, she has drifted for a century, dispensing from time to time very considerable appropriations without achieving any very commendable or enduring results."¹⁷

Much of Eddy's work between 1948 and his retirement in 1961 consisted of making new beginnings. Space was the greatest immediate problem. Archives holdings were outgrowing the three rooms in the Forum Building where they had remained

since 1931. State records were at risk. In addition to the five thousand cubic feet housed at the State Archives, space was rented to accommodate approximately sixty-five hundred cubic feet of records, and an estimated thirty thousand cubic feet remained in the agencies awaiting transfer. Plans for a William Penn Memorial Building to provide space for archives, museum, and staff moved from the talking stage in 1945 when Governor Edward Martin secured an appropriation for a building. But land was not immediately available, and no one was sure what was really needed in a building program, and with inaction, the funds were diverted and the project postponed.¹⁸ In the long run, this may be viewed as fortunate, for in 1957 when funds again became available, almost a decade of experience enabled Eddy to help plan a far more effective structure than would have been likely earlier.

The revisions to the Administrative Code of 1929 as a result of Act 446 of 1945 creating the PHMC gave a broad charge to the Pennsylvania State Archives for the care of the records of the state's executive branch departments and the political subdivisions as well as of other private or non-governmental historical papers and records. Eddy moved quickly to transfer the private genealogical collections to the State Library, which had remained under the Department of Public Instruction, along with reference responsibility for them.

Furthermore, Eddy wanted to avoid involvement with county and local records for as long as possible to concentrate on state government records in Harrisburg. His emphasis would be twofold: to disassemble the bound volumes and reorganize the documents by provenance and function, and to get a more comprehensive view of records in offices and storage areas. This second activity would set the stage for future records management work involving recommendation and approval of disposals of non-archival material, arranging the transfer of older records of permanent value, and planning for the future transfer of archival records. In general he needed to "show the flag" and orient state government to the new approach. The best that could be hoped for at first would be a departmental listing of holdings. Eddy added new staff, and in 1949, with Martha L. Simonetti, compiled a *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania*, closing the record on the ways of the past.

The 1950s saw substantial gains for the PHMC, particularly in the acquisition of historical properties around the state and the



▲ State Archivist Henry Eddy at work in his office in the Education Building.

growth of the historical marker and publication programs. The dominance of these programs in the Commission's mission was ensured when State Historian Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens succeeded Donald A. Cadzow as executive director in 1956. One of his first moves was to organize the programs into two bureaus—one for museums, historic sites, and properties and the other for research, publications, and records. The latter bureau, directed by historian Sanford W. Higginbotham, was divided into a Division of Research and Publications under Donald Kent and a Division of Public Records under Henry Eddy. This reorganization, however, did little to upgrade the archival program, shown by the fact that the Division of Public Records still operated into the 1960s with Division Chief/State Archivist Eddy, Associate Archivist Frank Evans, Assistant Archivists William Work, Martha L. Simonetti, and Barbara Philpott with three clerical support staff for a total staff of eight; one less, Evans noted, than in 1903.¹⁹

Bureau priorities did not emphasize the Archives. The primary project of interest to Higginbotham was the preparation of the *Preliminary Guide to the Research Materials of the PHMC* published in 1959. It covered materials in the Bureau of Research, Publications, and Records as well as collections at Drake Well Museum and Old Economy Village, two of PHMC's historical properties.²⁰ His successor, Donald Kent, a historian, continued to collect copies of Pennsylvania documents from other states.²¹ This activity had initially been funded with special appropriations made between 1947–56. The funding was used to microfilm newspapers and documentary materials from around the state and the nation in order to encourage historical research and writing.²²

Dealing with the approximately five hundred bound volumes of historical public records was one of Eddy's major achievements. Between 1948–61, they were systematically unbound and arranged into series in twenty-nine record groups. Posner noted in *American State Archives* that this was one of the few cases in archival practice when "an attempt to reconstitute original provenance has been carried through without bogging down."²³

Reorganization within the bureau also meant the transfer of responsibility for private papers from the Research and Publications Division to the Archives. The national trend toward archival-style arrangement and description for manuscript collections was evident there as well. These materials were organized by provenance into 140 manuscript groups. This system of description was conceived by Henry Eddy and put into place by Frank Evans and Martha Simonetti in the early 1960s. The provenance arrangement system of record groups for departments and agencies, and subgroups for the subordinate administrative units facilitated control of public records. But with so much ground to cover in the reconstitution of the old records and accessioning of the new, a simpler descriptive system was needed. The result was the *Summary Guide to the Pennsylvania State Archives*, appearing in mimeograph form in three editions between 1960–63. The guide was arranged by record group and listed hierarchically the subgroup and record series, with only a series title, date span and quantity specified. Series descriptions were not possible nor was there time to prepare administrative histories of record groups.²⁴ Although some special lists and four reference leaflets relating to records of genealogical interest and military service records were prepared, the only other finding aid was the often handwritten container list of folder titles for each box.

WILLIAM PENN MEMORIAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES BUILDING

Meanwhile, new records were being transferred as the result of government office survey efforts, with over a thousand cubic feet accessioned from 1960–62 alone. Crowding in the Forum Building facility was becoming the major problem, and the facilities for the processing and use of the collections were inadequate. Architectural funds again became available for the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building in 1957, and construction funds were appropriated in 1959. By October 1964, when the building opened, the fifteen hundred cubic feet of records in the State Archives and in remote storage had been

PROVENANCE:

1. The agency, office, or person of origin of records, i.e., the entity which created, received, or accumulated and used the records in the conduct of business or personal life. Also referred to as records creator.
2. The chain of custody which reflects the office(s) or person(s) that created, received, or accumulated and used the records in the conduct of business or in the course of personal life. Identifying and documenting the provenance of records is an essential part of establishing their authenticity and integrity as evidence.
3. In archival theory, the principle of provenance requires that the archives of an agency or person not be mixed or combined with the archives of another, i.e., the archives are retained and documented in their functional and/or organizational context.

ORIGINAL ORDER:

The order in which records and archives were kept when in active use, i.e., the order of accumulation as they were created, maintained and used. The principle of original order requires that the original order be preserved or reconstructed.

RECORD SERIES:

File units or documents arranged in accordance with a filing system or maintained as a unit because they relate to a particular subject or function, result from the same activity, have a particular form, or because of some other relationship arising out of their creation, receipt, or use.

SUBGROUP:

A body of related records within a record group, usually corresponding to an administrative unit in the originating organization or institution.



▲ Fall Brook Railroad records in the attic of the Ryan Building.

reboxed, relabeled, placed in acid-free folders, and were ready to be moved to the new facility. As noted earlier, the Archives had been storing records in rented quarters and also had thousands of cubic feet awaiting transfer from state agency offices. The twenty-story tower and a portion of the ground floor were to be shared by the State Archives and the newly created State Records Center. With ten levels allotted to the Records Center, PHMC Executive Director Dr. S. K. Stevens predicted there would be sufficient space "for several decades."²⁵

Nearly four decades have passed since the move to the State

Archives wing of the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building and the departure of State Archivist Frank B. Evans (1961–63). Under the subsequent leadership of William Work (1963–71), Harry Whipkey (1972–95), and Frank Suran (1995–present), the State Archives has created new programs and policies to enable staff to meet the broad archival responsibilities assigned to the PHMC by the Administrative, History, and Judicial Codes, and the County and Municipal Records Acts. These last few decades have been characterized by a willingness to take on appropriate challenges and programs to maximize the use of state monies and federal grant funds to promote the preservation of the Commonwealth's documentary heritage at the state, county, and municipal levels. These new initiatives have required the innovative use of the Archives staff, as well as the careful creation and nurturing of institutional and professional relationships.



▲ State Archivist Harry Whipkey rescuing records damaged by the 1972 Hurricane Agnes flood.

LOCAL RECORDS PROGRAM

Perhaps the best example of this was the evolution of the local records program. From its creation in 1903 until the 1960s, the Pennsylvania State Archives showed little interest in the acquisition or preservation of historical records created by the Commonwealth's numerous local governments. Only a small quantity of local records was accessioned during the period, some of which found their way to the division through private sources. Though the Division of Public Records original mandate pertained to "the preservation of all public records throughout the Commonwealth," Act 92 of 1911 specifically authorized the transfer of local government records to the division. The position of supervisor of public records under the state librarian was created by Act 232 of 1915 with responsibilities for examining the condition of all records maintained by counties, cities, and bor-

oughs, but that position was never actually filled, and no discernable efforts were made to acquire local government records. Little was done in the area until the 1960s when the subject of county records appears in the files of the executive director of the PHMC, Dr. S. K. Stevens. This correspondence, relating to the concern of certain county historical societies about proposed county records legislation that would give the PHMC more specific records management and archival authority, provides some explanation of the Commission's neglect of local government records in the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to the creation of the State Archives, county historical societies had assumed the responsibility for acquiring courthouse records, sometimes carrying out rescue operations hours before they were to be taken to local landfills. In the Commission's correspondence relating to proposed changes to county records legislation, Dr. Stevens expressed support for a policy in favor of the working partnerships that had evolved in many areas between the PHMC and the Commonwealth's county historical societies in regard to local government records. However, despite the assurances of Dr.

Stevens in 1967 that the State Archives would not expand its involvement with local government records, the priorities of the PHMC slowly changed as a result of the passage of amendments to the County Records Act of 1963, the Municipal Records Act of 1968, and the creation of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) in 1974.

The County and Municipal Records Acts made the PHMC the agent of the County Records Committee chaired by the chief justice of the State Supreme Court and the Local Government Records Committee chaired by the secretary of the Department of Community Affairs. Under these acts, the PHMC, working through the State Archives, was responsible for preparing records retention and disposition schedules for approval by the committees for use by county and municipal government offices and for monitoring and approving individual local government/officer disposition requests that had to be submitted as part of the disposal process. Requests for professional and technical assistance in implementing the schedules, reformatting records, and questions on the care of the historical records slowly began to increase, forcing the PHMC to dedicate more staff time to local government matters.

Even with the mandates placed on the State Archives by the 1963 and 1968 local records acts, and the increase in staff time allotted to working with local governments, there were virtually no general government operating funds available to provide substantive services similar to those provided in particular by state archival agencies south of the Mason-Dixon Line. At this point in time, the assistance of the NHPRC was to have a significant effect on the priorities and policies of the PHMC. Two early grants in particular were very important to the development of the PHMC's local records program. First was a two-year project between 1978 and 1980 to microfilm select records of municipal and county governments supported by \$103,588 in NHPRC funds that enabled the State Archives to microfilm minutes, tax books, and vital records from 114 cities, boroughs and townships and from various offices in twenty-six counties. More importantly, the project required numerous telephone and onsite contacts with hundreds of local officials and several local government associations, many of whom had never had any contact with the State Archives and certainly no contact that involved state assistance requiring only minimal efforts on their end. Another direct result of this grant was the continuation of the local government micro-

filming service as an ongoing program of the State Archives. This was accomplished by redirecting the work and priorities of the existing Archives microfilm lab.

The second boost from the NHPRC came from a \$213,539 federal grant to enable the State Archives to conduct a two-year survey of records in county courthouses and create a machine-readable database of the information. This generous grant enabled the State Archives to hire ten archivists in 1984 to survey the records in sixty-six of Pennsylvania's sixty-seven county courthouses. The City/County of Philadelphia was not covered by the project since it operated its own municipal archives under terms of its 1951 home rule charter. Over 630,000 cubic feet of records were inventoried, and the survey forms provided information about location, format, date span, arrangement, physical condition of records and storage locations, quantity, content, and whether the series had been microfilmed. The NHPRC grant also funded a space/planning study in 1984 and 1985 based on the survey results from seven representative counties. The planning document provided three models that could be used by counties in establishing county operated archives and records centers. It included a section on facility standards which eventually became the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administrators'(NAGARA) first national technical manual for local governments. The information, expertise, and contacts acquired by Archives staff members was to provide the PHMC with the necessary experience to concentrate on what became its number one local records priority—the establishment or strengthening of effective county or municipal sponsored archives and records management programs. Almost immediately, nine county governments made use of this planning document.

Since that time, the Archives staff has worked with numerous other counties using the reports and studies first compiled under the NHPRC-funded County Records Survey and Planning Study project. Today twenty-three counties currently operate archives or records centers providing centralized storage and reference services to their administrative, fiscal and judicial officers. Several have built new archives/records center buildings or have renovated existing facilities to meet standards associated with state government archival repositories.

Concentrated efforts have been made over the last twenty years to help overcome the earlier decades of neglect. In 1987, a Local Government Security Microfilm Storage Program was ini-



From left to right, Frank Evans, Executive Director S. K. Stevens, State Archivist Henry Eddy, and Donald Kent view a drawing for the new William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building.

riated, again with no increase in staffing, which offered free annual storage for microfilm copies of permanently valuable vital and historical records created by county, municipal, school district and Common Pleas court officers. Today over seventy thousand rolls of microfilm, the equivalent of 150 million documents, are maintained by the State Archives in a secure underground storage facility in western Pennsylvania. Though unable to upgrade archival services to Pennsylvania's five thousand plus counties, school districts, municipal governments, and authorities through a single infusion of staffing and operating funds, the local records program has slowly evolved from the part-time responsibility of one archivist in the 1970s to four archivists and one camera operator who allot the majority of their time to archival services mandated by various state codes and the County and Municipal Records Acts.

Crucial to the efforts of the State Archives was the creation in 1985 of the PHMC's History and Museum Grant Program which includes an archives and records management grant category that enables the Archives staff to provide timely assistance to local government officers interested in preserving their historical records and establishing their own county/municipal archives.

The PHMC has awarded \$820,720 under the terms of 138 archives grants to local governments since the beginning of that program in 1985.

As in the case of state government records and services to state agencies, training programs have evolved from large conferences primarily offered in the Harrisburg area, to numerous course offerings throughout the state. Since the beginning of the upgrade of the Commission's efforts to preserve local government archives and promote good record-keeping practices, the Archives staff has worked closely with state agencies and local government associations to provide county, Common Pleas court, school district, city, borough, township, and other municipal officers with onsite assistance and convenient,

low-cost training opportunities. Legislative requirements and expanded program services have increased annual contacts with county, municipal, and school district officers from a handful per year to thousands in the form of correspondence and e-mail assistance on archival and records management concerns, participation in annual local government officer meetings, delivery of training sessions, review of grant applications, the filming or storage of local government vital records, and onsite consultations.

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE HISTORICAL RECORDS ADVISORY BOARD AND THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS AND RECORDS COMMISSION

The creation of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) in 1974 was to have far-reaching consequences for the Pennsylvania State Archives. The National Historical Publications Commission had been established in 1934 to promote the editing and publication of documents relating to prominent individuals and events in American history. With the passage of Public Law 93-536 by Congress in 1974, the name of the commission was changed to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, and the new organization

was given an increased appropriation to award grants for archival projects in addition to documentary publication projects. The NHPRC proceeded to develop and establish a framework at the state level to assist with the process of awarding archival project grants. Historical records advisory boards, comprised of archivists, government officials, historians, and librarians were appointed by the governors of various states. These boards served as the central advisory body for historical records planning in their respective states, and the archivist members reviewed grant applications submitted to the NHPRC by state institutions.

The Pennsylvania State Archives was quick to recognize the importance of utilizing these federal grant funds for a variety of projects. The first State Historical Records Advisory Board (SHRAB) was appointed by Governor Milton J. Shapp in 1976, and the State Archives soon started to apply for grants. Since the inception of the NHPRC program, the State Archives, sometimes in partnership with the SHRAB and the Governor's Office of Administration, has received nine grants totaling \$891,071 in federal monies. These grants have had a significant effect on Archives programs and priorities over the last few decades by providing program funds when state support was virtually non-existent for certain initiatives and by enabling the Archives to provide substantive assistance and services to public and private institutions for the first time in its history. These grant projects coin-

cided with nationwide concerns for the care of local government records, the control and acquisition of electronic records, strategic planning, and archival training and leadership.

The State Archives received the first of nine NHPRC records grants in December 1977, and provided three regional archival

Public Law 93-536, passed by Congress in December 1974, changed the name of the National Historical Publications Commission (NHPC), which had originally been created in 1934 as part of the act that established the National Archives and had concentrated on providing grant funds to publish documentary sources significant to United States history, to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). This federal law authorized the Commission to expand its programs to include not only publications, but also to provide funding for projects relating to the collection, arrangement, and description of historical records.

techniques workshops in Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, and Wilkes-Barre in partnership with the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society between May and September 1978. The goal of the project was to train staff from public and private records repositories in order to improve the care of historical records around the state. This grant project represented the first organized attempt by the State Archives at providing statewide outreach and archival training to historical societies, religious institutions, and colleges and universities. As a result of the workshops, the PHMC published *A Manual of Archival Techniques*, edited by Roland M. Baumann, for use by historical records repositories.

Two very important NHPRC-funded projects were mentioned previously with regard to the local records program of the State Archives. The 1978–80 Local Government Microfilming Project funded at \$103,588 enabled the Archives to produce 1,068 rolls (approximately 1.1 million images) of historically valuable records, particularly municipal minutes, from one hundred forty local governments. The 1984–86 County Records Survey and Planning Study, funded with \$213,539 in federal funds, helped the State Archives conduct a statewide inventory of county records housed in courthouses and off-site storage locations and resulted in the production of a database noting the location, quantity, and condition of over 630,000 cubic feet of records. Printed inventories were sent to officers enabling them to

Attendees at the Annual Archives and Records Management Seminar, 1995.



Since the beginning of the NHPRC grant program for historical records projects in 1976, Pennsylvania institutions have received fifty-three grant awards totaling \$3,082,725. Of that total, twenty-two awards have been made to colleges and universities, six to historical societies, five to county and municipal governments, two to religious institutions, nine to manuscript repositories, and nine to the State Archives.

identify records eligible for destruction and ensuring the preservation of permanently valuable records. In addition, the project included a space planning study of seven counties and resulted in the development of three plans for records facilities that could be utilized by any local government. Along with other initiatives, these two projects contributed to the enhancement of the local records program of the State Archives.

In 1981, the Pennsylvania State Archives and the SHRAB received a grant to conduct a statewide analysis of the condition of historical records in Pennsylvania, and to identify problems and outline recommendations to improve the care of these records. The board's consultant, Leon J. Stout of the Pennsylvania State University, conducted the study to evaluate the condition of records of state and local government agencies and historical records maintained in private repositories. The published report, *Historical Records in Pennsylvania, An Assessment Report for the State Historical Records Advisory Board*, was issued in November 1983, and contained a series of recommendations that provided direction to the Archives for prioritizing program activities. It provided the impetus for the County Records Survey and Planning Study and other training and regrant projects. Also, in 1985 the PHMC initiated its own grants program which offered funding for archives and records management projects.

Following up on recommendations in the 1983 report, the State Archives and the SHRAB received another NHPRC grant in 1987 for a regrant program to help improve the care and administration of archival records at Pennsylvania's colleges and universities. The SHRAB made twelve awards involving thirty-two institutions for projects including inventorying and micro-filming. One other award was made to the State System of Higher Education to offer two training conferences in 1989 that attracted participants from sixty-five colleges and universities. In 1990, building on the partnerships established during the regrant project, the State Archives and the Pennsylvania Federation of

Museums and Historical Organizations sponsored two disaster planning and recovery workshops in cooperation with Millersville University.

In 1992, the Governor's Office of Administration and the State Archives began the Electronic Records Management Project with an NHPRC grant award. The project was designed to enable the executive branch of state government to integrate electronic records into the archives and records management program to help ensure the preservation of the Commonwealth's permanently valuable records, regardless of their format. At the same time, several Archives staff members were given the responsibility of dealing with electronic records issues. This led to partnering with the Office of Administration over the last decade on special initiatives involving electronic records.

In 1998, the State Archives and the SHRAB received an NHPRC grant for a strategic planning project that was designed to assess the board's mission; evaluate the current historical records climate in Pennsylvania; develop strategic goals to address identification, acquisition, preservation, and access issues; and establish priorities for grant funding. In 1999, the board issued its new ten-year strategic plan entitled *Documenting Pennsylvania and Its People* and also developed a five-year board action plan to guide implementation of the strategic plan. The new plan listed five strategic issues—Public Appreciation and Support for Historical Records Programs, Leadership, Access and Preservation, Archival Education, and Funding—that would have to be addressed by the SHRAB and individually by

Governor Milton J. Shapp appointed the first State Historical Records Advisory Board on August 19, 1976. Members included Charles L. Blockson, Norristown Public School System; Stuart Campbell, Mercyhurst College; Dr. Ronald L. Filippelli, The Pennsylvania State University; Dr. Donald H. Kent, retired from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. James E. Mooney, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Reverend Vernon H. Nelson, Archives of the Moravian Church; Ruth Salisbury, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; Martha C. Slotten, Dickinson College; Dr. Russell F. Weigley, Temple University; and Frank A. Zabrosky, University of Pittsburgh. William J. Wewer, executive director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, was the State Historical Records Coordinator and chaired the board.

Pennsylvania's numerous historical records repositories.

In response to these issues, the State Archives and the SHRAB applied to the NHPRC in 2000 to help support the board's new strategic plan and enhance public access to the Commonwealth's rich documentary heritage. The NHPRC monies for planning, training, and regrant projects for local governments and historical records repositories encouraged and enabled the Archives to establish and build a training and education program, led to the creation of a new Training and Grants Section, and enabled the Archives to supplement and attract additional state funding for archives projects around the state. Utilizing state funds, this project enabled the State Archives, in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Federation of Museums and Historical Organizations, to offer sixteen sessions on five different archival topics to 494 participants representing 202 institutions around the state. The Pennsylvania Humanities Council and the African-American Genealogy Group also received state funds as part of the project to offer a series of special conferences on family history that attracted a total of 245 participants. Most of the federal and matching state funds were used to increase the amount of awards in the PHMC's Archives and Records Management grants category for two cycles, 2001–2 and 2002–3. Ninety-three grant awards totaling \$747,685 were made to seventy-seven institutions. Of that total, the PHMC contributed an unprecedented \$569,026 in state funds for the two cycles, and county governments contributed an additional cash match of \$92,874.

MAKING RECORDS ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC

Federally funded microfilming projects and the creation of published guides became a priority in the 1960s and 1970s. These were frequently published with financial support provided by the National Historical Publications Commission, the predecessor of the NHPRC. They included the *Guide to the Microfilm of the Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776, in the Pennsylvania State Archives* published in 1966, and the *Guide to the Microfilm of the Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers* and the *Guide to the Microfilm of the John Nicholson Papers*, both published in 1967. Donald H. Kent was project director for all three projects. These were followed by publication of the *Guide to the Microfilm of the Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, 1775–1790*,

edited by Roland M. Baumann in 1978. The latter guide represented a cooperative effort between the State Archives and the National Endowment for the Humanities to preserve historically significant source materials for access by scholars and the general public.

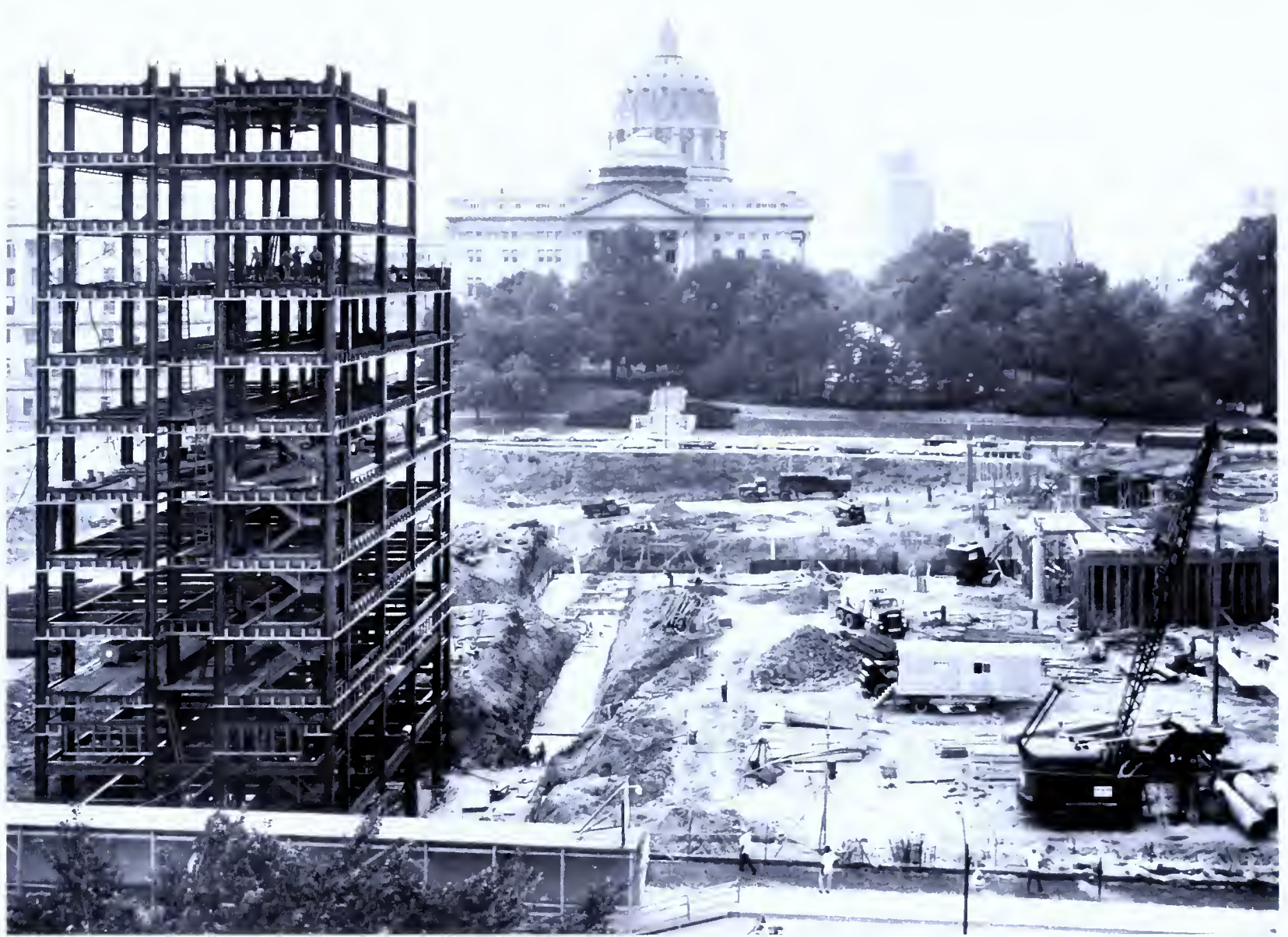
In addition to the microfilm guides, a series of guides were prepared that possessed a broader focus than just those records prioritized for microfilming. The first of these was a 1976 reprint of the *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania* by Henry Howard Eddy and Martha L. Simonetti that served as a history and finding aid for the 138 volumes of the *Colonial Records* and the *Pennsylvania Archives*. The year 1976 represented a particularly productive period for the State Archives with the publica-

As a result of the PHMC-funded 1996–98 Pennsylvania Historical Records Repositories Survey that provided information concerning the status and resources of 358 Pennsylvania institutions and the 1998–1999 SHRAB strategic planning process, funded by the NHPRC, the following five critical challenges were identified:

- ◆ A lack of public understanding and awareness of the importance of archives and historical records.
- ◆ The need for leadership.
- ◆ Establishment of networks to communicate information and coordinate efforts.
- ◆ Delivering training and educational opportunities and the promotion of standards and best practices.
- ◆ The impoverishment of historical records programs in terms of resources, staffing levels, and facilities.

tion of the *Guide to the Manuscript Groups in the Pennsylvania State Archives* compiled and edited by Harry E. Whipkey, and the *Descriptive List of the Map Collection in the Pennsylvania State Archives* compiled by Martha L. Simonetti, and edited by Donald H. Kent and Harry E. Whipkey. These were among the first of a series of guides created as part of the Bureau's records description program that were intended to provide information about the holdings of the Archives and contribute toward building an increasingly efficient finding aid system. Following these, in 1979 came the *Guide to the Records of Special Commissions in the Pennsylvania State Archives* compiled by Henry E. Bown and edited by Roland M. Baumann.

In 1980, guides possessing somewhat broader horizons again



▲ Construction of the steel skeleton for the new Archives tower, August 1962.

appeared. Among the first of these were the *Guide to the Record Groups in the Pennsylvania State Archives* compiled and edited by Frank M. Suran, the *Guide to the Microfilm Collections of the Pennsylvania State Archives* by Roland M. Baumann and Diane Smith Wallace, and the *Guide to Genealogical Sources at the Pennsylvania State Archives* by Robert M. Dructor. In 1982, the State Archives published the *Guide to County and Municipal Records on Microfilm in the Pennsylvania State Archives* compiled and edited by Nancy L. P. Fortna and Frank M. Suran. In 1983, the *Guide to the Microfilmed Harmony Society Records, 1786–1951 (Manuscript Group 185) in the Pennsylvania State Archives*, compiled by Robert M. Dructor and edited by Roland M. Baumann, was published.

While additional guides such as the *Guide to Photographs at the Pennsylvania State Archives* by Linda A. Ries (1993), a second edition of the *Guide to Genealogical Sources at the Pennsylvania State Archives* by Robert M. Dructor (1998), and the *Guide to African American Resources at the Pennsylvania State Archives* by

Ruth E. Hodge (2000) were produced, the emphasis shifted from publications toward developing in-house series descriptions and scope and content notes for entry into automated finding aids such as RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network) and ultimately the PHMC web site.

EXPANDED RESPONSIBILITIES THE LAND OFFICE

Another example of a broadening of responsibilities is reflected in the acquisition of the records of the Pennsylvania Land Office, which began as the Proprietary Land Office in 1682, making it the oldest department of state government. The agents of the Penn family who were responsible for surveying, receiving purchase money, and issuing grants of land had been collectively known as the Land Office. After the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the Proprietary Land Office ceased to function, and in 1779, the Divesting Act transferred ownership of most of the

remaining unsold lands to the Commonwealth. In 1781, the legislature created a new State Land Office, and for the next two hundred years, it was part of several state agencies. In 1981, the Bureau of Land Records, once a part of the Department of Internal Affairs and subsequently a unit in the Department of Community Affairs, was transferred to the PHMC. In 1986, it became the Division of Land Records and in 1989, the division was merged with the State Archives ending its existence as an identifiable individual entity within state government.

As a result of the acquisition of the vast collection of records created by the activities of the Land Office—approximately two thousand cubic feet and more than eleven hundred rolls of microfilm created by the Department of Internal Affairs—a complex and valuable new resource became available to historians and genealogists visiting the State Archives. *Pennsylvania Land Records: A History and Guide for Research* by Donna Bingham Munger was published in 1991 to facilitate research. Additional processing was completed, and a set of series descriptions was made available on the State Archives web site in 1999.

The Land Office was also the custodian of the records of the Pennsylvania Board of Canal Commissioners (1826–59) that was created to construct and operate a state canal system. When the Board was abolished in 1859, its records were transferred first to the Department of the Auditor General and then to the Department of Internal Affairs in 1885. In 1959, the Department of Internal Affairs published a finding aid entitled *Pennsylvania Board of Canal Commissioners' Records with Allied Records of Canal Companies Chartered by the Commonwealth—Descriptive Index* by Hubertis M. Cummings. This remains the definitive work on these records and their relationship with those of other early corporate canal ventures. They were accessioned by the State Archives in the early 1960s, almost thirty years before the bulk of the Land Office records were transferred.

In an effort to streamline the patenting process, Act 88 of 2000 assigned the responsibility for handling warrant and patent applications to the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources. However, the State Archives remains the depository of original titles and conveyances and the custodian of deeds and instruments relating to real estate owned by the Commonwealth.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT

As noted previously, the County Records Act of 1963 and the Municipal Records Act of 1968 gave the Archives records management responsibilities as the agent of the County and Local Government Records Committees. Although Archives staff had been appraising state agency records since 1903, the PHMC had been involved with records management activities for only a brief period when it operated the State Records Center in the 1960s and 1970s. The Governor's Office of Administration handled the other functions such as scheduling and forms management. A 1980 Executive Order moved all these responsibilities from the Commission and Office of Administration to the Department of General Services.

In 1990, the State Archives met with the Office of Administration concerning management of electronic records. An interagency committee was formed to prepare a report on the status of executive branch electronic records activities. On behalf of the committee, Archives staff wrote a successful grant application to the NHPRC for the 1992–95 Electronic Records Management Project. As a result of these efforts, Governor Robert P. Casey issued Executive Order 1992–1, effective January 3, 1992, which transferred records management responsibilities for executive branch agencies held by the Department of General Services back to the Governor's Office of Administration. Department and agency heads were responsible for managing the records within their agencies while the daily responsibilities for implementing the Commonwealth's records management program were assigned to the PHMC. From that date, the Commission, as the agent for the Secretary of Administration, became responsible for the entire life cycle of executive branch agency records, including operation of the State Records Management/Analysis unit, the State Records Center, and the State Micrographics Center.

Efforts to address concerns about the long-term viability of electronic records were boosted by the 1992 grant of \$116,230 for the Electronic Records Management Project. It funded two professional positions at the Archives, staff training costs, and the purchase of hardware and software to integrate electronic records into the executive branch archives and records management program. These cooperative endeavors continued throughout the next decade as the Office of Administration used Pennsylvania

Technology Improvement funds to support a variety of programs. Included was an assessment of the existing electronic records program in 2000; the Archives Records Information Access System (ARIAS) project providing access to digitized military service record cards on the Web in 2001; an electronic records inventorying and scheduling project involving forty-five state departments, boards, and commissions in 2001–3; and a project to implement a completely automated records management program for executive branch agencies with the first phase completed in mid-2003.

From the early 1990s to 2003, State Archives staff developed new management directives covering micrographics standards, optical imaging guidelines, and electronic records management; several general records retention and disposition schedules; as well as manuals addressing vital records protection and general records management procedures. This period also saw an expanded education, training, and technical assistance program for state agencies.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The year 1995 marked the beginning of a series of new initiatives including the designation of the Pennsylvania State Archives as an Affiliated Archives of the National Archives, an aggressive expansion of the local government microfilm program, construction of

new storage facilities at the State Records Center to expand storage capacity by over 86,000 cubic feet for a total of more than 270,000 cubic feet, the launching of a Pennsylvania State Archives web site, and planning for a complete renovation of the aging Archives facility. The latter project is part of the larger redesign of the entire State Museum and Archives Building complex that represents an opportunity to modestly expand long-term storage capacity, significantly improve climate control of the storage areas, provide improved reference service for records in all media formats, add an archival exhibit hall, and improve public areas and staff work space.

By the end of 1996, the remaining available records storage space in the Archives tower was down to just 13,500 cubic feet, while the annual records accession rate since 1983 had been holding steady at approximately twenty-two hundred cubic feet. As a temporary measure, work began in 2000 on replacing the library shelving installed on selected levels with standard records center shelving in an effort to gain an additional fifteen hundred cubic feet of capacity on each of the floors. Despite these efforts, the tower is now virtually filled to capacity.

▼ *Members of the Local Government Records Committee which was chaired by Secretary of Community Affairs Shirley M. Dennis (seated), 1982.*



Since 1995, an increasing amount of effort has been devoted to uploading detailed record group and manuscript group title lists, series descriptions, and holdings to the new State Archives web site. This effort involved experimenting with a series of evolving Web editing software packages to keep pace with swiftly changing technologies and has resulted in the uploading of basic information on 5,646 series describing records created by agencies of the provincial, Revolutionary, and state governments dating back to 1681.

The Pennsylvania State Archives is at present responsible for 67,230 cubic feet of bound volumes and paper files totaling over 202 million pages. The microfilm holdings available for public use exceed 26,680 rolls estimated to contain 42.7 million images of original documents. In addition, the holdings also include more than 443,000 photographic prints and negatives; approximately 183,450 maps and drawings; and over 6,500 film, video, and audiotapes. While the bulk of the holdings were created by such governmental entities as the General Assembly, Unified Judicial System, more than one hundred executive branch departments and commissions, sixty-seven county governments, and 126 municipalities, there are among the holdings 475 manuscript groups reflecting the activities of private firms and individuals that have played a significant role in Pennsylvania's history.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Pennsylvania State Archives has committed resources to making its archival finding aids available on the PHMC web site. It is implementing an electronic records management program in anticipation of the arrival of records now being generated electronically in state government. The PHMC is also undertaking a complete renovation of the aging State Museum and Archives buildings that is slated for completion by 2006. When the Pennsylvania State Archives reopens its doors in a completely renovated facility, it will be with a renewed commitment to preserving the archival legacy of William Penn's Commonwealth.



▲ Harold Denton, center, donating his papers relating to the Three Mile Island accident to the State Archives. Dr. Denton is flanked by State Archivist Frank Suran (left) and PHMC Executive Director Brent D. Glass (right).

Though Penn's original vision has been transformed in a myriad of unforeseen ways during the past three hundred years, the Pennsylvania State Archives is committed to ensuring the security of the permanently valuable records upon which the Commonwealth's historical memory rests.

PENNSYLVANIA'S STATE ARCHIVISTS

Luther R. Kelker.....	1903–1915
Hiram H. Shenk.....	1916–1933
Curtis W. Garrison.....	1933–1936
Henry Shoemaker.....	1936–1948
Henry Howard Eddy.....	1948–1961
Frank B. Evans.....	1961–1963
William H. Work.....	1963–1971
Harry E. Whipkey.....	1972–1995
Frank M. Suran.....	1995–Present

THE PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES PRESERVATION THROUGH PUBLICATION

In eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, a provincial license was granted to Benjamin Franklin to publish *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682–1776*, the state's first documentary compilation. Documentary publishing was continued by Ebenezer Hazard, who compiled *The Journals of the Continental Congress*, and in 1792–94 produced the *Historical Collections*, state and federal records he had gathered while serving as postmaster general. This as well as Thomas Jefferson's comment to Ebenezer Hazard that "time and accident are committing daily havoc on the originals deposited in our public offices" and while the "lost cannot be recovered," the task at hand was to "save what remains; not by vaults and locks which fence them from the public eye and use . . . but by such multiplication of copies as shall place them beyond the reach of accident," offer one explanation for the failure of American state and federal government to develop archival repositories.²⁶

Public access to most classes of records was uncommon in Jefferson's time. Scholars have called attention to America's traditional antipathy to government bureaucracy and record-keeping, the impact of the spoils system on the lackadaisical transfer of records from officeholders of one party to successors of the other, and the inability of legislators to perceive the benefit of preserving records, except for those property and other records that were the lawyers' stock in trade.

Finally, as Eugene Braderman and Bernard Levin of the Pennsylvania Historical Records Survey noted, Pennsylvanians had tended to see older public records "largely as interesting curiosities, of value primarily as museum pieces."²⁷ The observation may be too strong, but throughout the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania's work with its records was either publishing those that could be found and were of value to historians or genealogists, or providing funds for the silking, mounting, binding, and indexing of those that seemed to have artifact value—those of the earliest period of the Commonwealth's history.

In 1851 another Hazard entered the scene, Ebenezer's son Samuel. Fresh from publishing the *Annals of Pennsylvania*, Samuel was asked by Governor William F. Johnston to resume the publishing of the colonial records.²⁸ The authorizing act of 1851 passed

and Hazard commenced the *First Series* of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, documents dating from 1664 to 1790, chiefly from the files of the secretary of the Commonwealth. Soon after, the first law passed to preserve the state's documents. The Act of April 12, 1855, provided \$300 for the preservation of manuscripts used in the printed archives. These were to be deposited in the State Library; but from Hazard's custody in Philadelphia (where they had remained since the Civil War) many were given to other repositories and private collections. However, a large number of these documents can be found today in the Pennsylvania State Archives.²⁹

There were four subsequent periods of publication to follow. These were identified by Henry Howard Eddy and Martha L. Simonetti in their *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania* in the following manner:

The Dr. William Henry Egle Period, 1874–99. Produced the *Second* and *Third Series* with a total of forty-five volumes, plus a portfolio of maps titled *Appendix, Third Series, I–IX*.

The Dr. George Edward Reed Period, 1899–1902. Produced four volumes of indices to the *Third Series*, as well as the twelve volume *Fourth Series*.

The Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery Period, 1906–14. Produced the *Fifth*, *Sixth* and *Seventh Series* totaling twenty-eight volumes.

The Period of the 1930s, 1931–35. Produced the *Eighth* and *Ninth Series* with eighteen volumes, but no published indices.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES

I. *Colonial Records*: A total of sixteen volumes containing the minutes of the Provincial Council, 1683–1775, in Volumes I–X; those of the Council of Safety (and of the Committee of Safety), 1775–1777, in X and XI; and those of the Supreme Executive Council, 1777–1790, in XI–XVI. These were printed directly from the manuscript books with no editing apparent. Issued 1838–53.

II. *Pennsylvania Archives*, later to be known as the *First Series*: These twelve volumes reproduce papers selected chiefly from the files at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, printed

in chronological order to parallel and supplement *Colonial Records*. The earliest materials are dated 1664 and the latest 1790. Edited by Samuel Hazard and issued 1852–56.

III. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*: In its nineteen volumes, this series contains varied and diverse materials; militia rolls and church records are prominent, but there are as well the minutes of the Board of War and those of the Navy Board, both of 1777, and much on the Wyoming Controversy with Connecticut and on the Whiskey Insurrection. Edited by John B. Linn and Dr. William Henry Egle through Volume XII, and by Dr. Egle alone for the remainder of the series. Issued 1874–90.

IV. *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*: The first twenty-six volumes of this series resemble closely those of the *Second Series*, while the last four volumes consist of an index to the sixteen volumes immediately preceding. Filled for the most part with militia rolls and lists of land warrantees and taxables, this series does contain some materials of a more general nature, such as a discussion of Virginia's claims to western Pennsylvania, and an account of the Donation Lands. Edited by Dr. Egle (I–XXVI) with four index volumes edited by Dr. George Edward Reed. Issued 1894–99.

V. *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series*: In twelve volumes, this series collects the addresses, messages, proclamations, and a very few other papers of Pennsylvania's governors, 1681–1902, with brief biographies and portraits but with a minimum of documentation. Edited by Dr. George Edward Reed and issued 1900–2.

VI. *Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series*: This series fills eight volumes with muster rolls and other military lists, chiefly of the provincial and revolutionary period, some reprinted with greater accuracy and neatness from the *Second* and *Third Series*, and certain of the others taken from sources outside official custody. Edited by Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery and issued in 1906.

VII. *Pennsylvania Archives, Sixth Series*: For fourteen volumes, this series continues the printing of military rolls, covering chiefly the period from the Revolution to the War of 1812, including militia rolls for the years of peace, with some material as late as the Mexican War. There are also a few orderly books, military accounts for the 1812 period, and some papers non-military in nature, notably church records of marriages and baptisms, inventories of estates confiscated during the Revolution, and scattered eighteenth-century election returns. The final volume, XV, bound in two thick parts, contains an index to the *Fifth Series*. Edited by Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery and issued 1906–7.

VIII. *Pennsylvania Archives, Seventh Series*: The five volumes of this series consist exclusively of an index to the more than one million names found in the first fourteen volumes of the *Sixth Series*. The *Seventh Series* was intended to include in additional volumes the Executive Minutes which later were published as the *Ninth Series*, but publication halted with the death of L.R. Kelker, Custodian of Public Records, in 1915. Compiled by Kelker and his assistants in the Division of Public Records under the direction of Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery and issued in 1914.

IX. *Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series*: In eight volumes, this series reprints the eighteenth-century edition of Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682–1776. The first five volumes bear the name of Gertrude MacKinney as editor, and the last three the name of Dr. Charles F. Hoban. Issued 1931–35.

X. *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*: In ten volumes, this series prints the contents of fifteen manuscript volumes preserved in the Division of Public Records. These are Executive Minutes, a journal of official actions of Pennsylvania's governors for the period 1790–1838. This series continues *Colonial Records* and supplements the *Fourth Series* for the effective period of the Constitution of 1790. Bears the name of Gertrude MacKinney as editor. Issued 1931–35.

NOTES FOR PART 1

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 2. Herman V. Ames and Lewis S. Shimmel, "Report on the Public Archives of Pennsylvania," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 2 (1900), p. 280.
 3. *Ibid*, pp. 280–81, 290.
 4. *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, Vol.1, p. 10.
 5. *North American*, April 15, 1903, p. 1.
 6. Posner, pp. 19–22.
 7. Pennsylvania, *Report of the State Librarian of Pennsylvania* (1903), pp. 13–14, 21–25.
 8. Posner, p. 12.
 9. Eugene M. Braderman and Bernard S. Levin, "Pennsylvania and Her Archives," *Pennsylvania History*, 8 (1941), p. 64.
 10. *Ibid*, p. 60.
 11. *Ibid*, p. 61.
 12. Frank B. Evans, "The Many Faces of the Pennsylvania Archives," *American Archivist*, 27, No.2 (April 1964), pp. 275–76.
 13. Pennsylvania, *Report of the State Librarian* (1915), p. 11.
 14. Pennsylvania, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1942/44), p. 218.
 15. Evans, p. 276.
 16. Henry Howard Eddy, "The Archival Program of Pennsylvania," *American Archivist*, 12 (1949), pp. 261–63; and Roy E. Nichols, *The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: A History* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1967), p. 24.
 17. Eddy, p. 256.
 18. S.K. Stevens, "The William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building," *Pennsylvania History*, 29 (1962), p. 250.
 19. Evans, p. 277.
 20. Sanford W. Higginbotham, "The Public Records and Historical Program of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, 25 (1958), pp. 426–27.
 21. *Ibid*, p. 427.
 22. Nichols, pp. 28–29.
 23. Posner, p. 235.
 24. Evans, pp. 281–83.
 25. Stevens, p. 255.
 26. Posner, pp. 12–13 and Fred Shelley, "Ebenezer Hazard: America's First Historical Editor," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 12 (January 1955), p. 62.
 27. Braderman and Levin, p. 62.
 28. Roland M. Baumann, "Samuel Hazard: Editor and Archivist for the Keystone State," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 107 (April 1983), p. 203.
 29. Henry Howard Eddy and Martha L. Simonetti, *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1949), p. 61.
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▲ Dr. Sylvester K. Sterens with the first page of the 1681 Royal Charter from King Charles II to William Penn.

Part II

The history of the Pennsylvania State Archives can be traced from its humble beginnings one hundred years ago, in 1903, in a single room in the basement of the old State Library and Museum Building (now the Speaker Matthew J. Ryan Legislative Office Building). By 1931, the State Archives occupied three rooms in the Education Building, and in 1964 it moved to a newly-constructed complex for the William Penn Memorial Museum and the Pennsylvania State Archives, dominated by the twenty-story tower that houses the Commonwealth's archival holdings.

Through the years, the goal of the State Archives has remained constant: to identify, acquire, preserve, and make available to the public the records of government that are of enduring value. Records are fundamental to all human activity. They are the single most reliable evidence available to demonstrate how government has conducted the people's business. These records are the building blocks of history and, unlike historic buildings, landscapes, and artifacts through which the meaning of the past must be interpreted, historical records speak directly to us with the actual words of their many and diverse authors.

In the final analysis, the true measure of success for any archival program is found in its holdings. In the following chapters, we have made an effort to capture the breadth and depth of the holdings of the Pennsylvania State Archives. We hope that you enjoy some of the Commonwealth's archival treasures and that you have an opportunity to visit the State Archives and discover the most important document of all—*the one for which you are looking!*

Province to Commonwealth

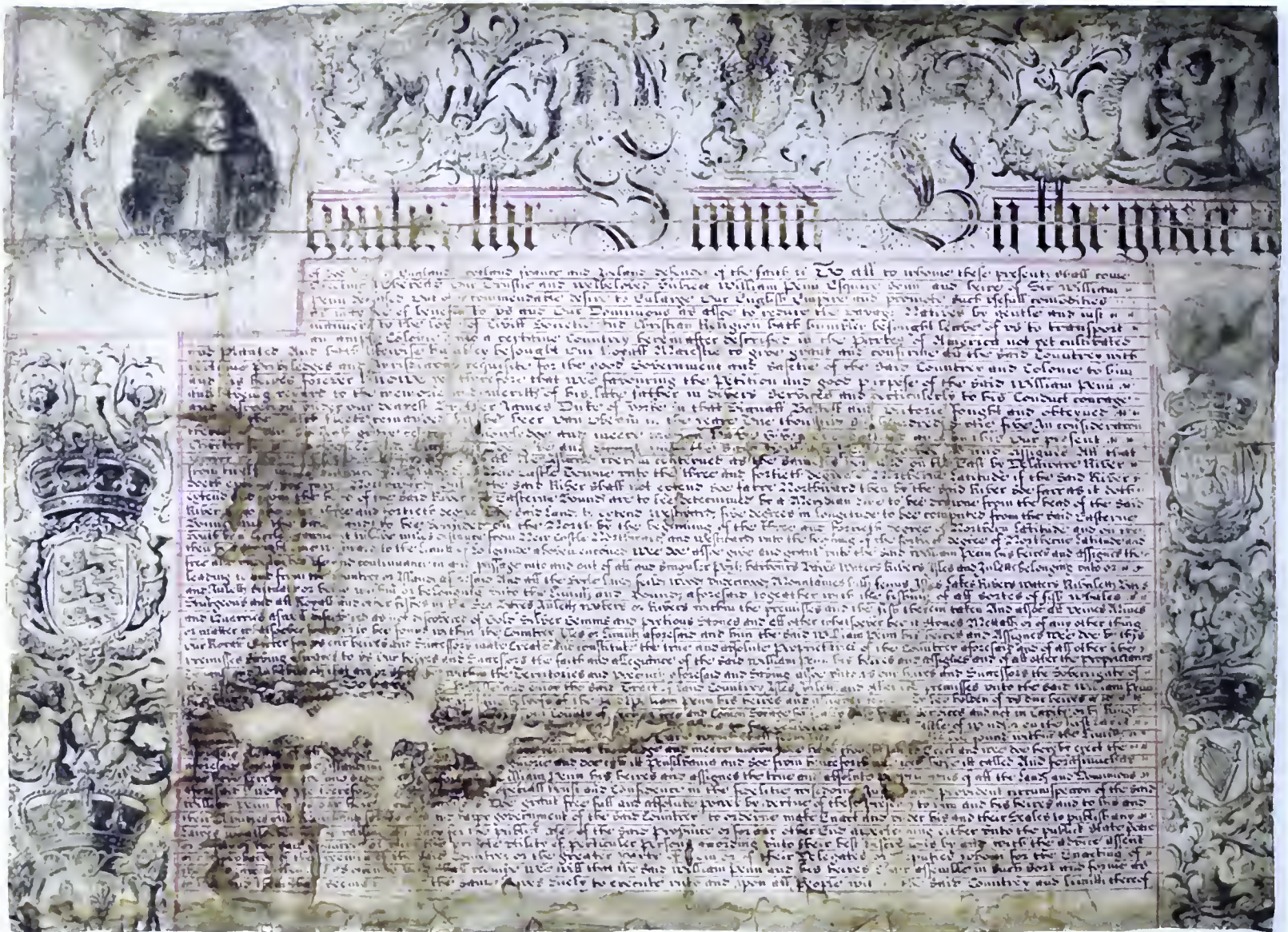
1681

King Charles II's reign was in crisis when, on March 4, 1681 he granted William Penn a proprietary charter for a new colony to be called Pennsylvania. Determined to stop Parliament from excluding his brother James, the Duke of York, from becoming the next king, Charles II had dissolved Parliament in January and ordered the next convocation to occur late in March at Oxford, away from London's hostile throngs. Parliament had withheld funding for so long that the Crown's expensive outposts at Dunkirk, Bombay, and Tangier had to be abandoned. By allowing William Penn and the pacifist Quakers to occupy a vast hinterland at the center of North America's eastern coast, Charles II hoped to populate the region and create a thriving economy that would pay for itself. At the same time, he was canceling out a loan from William Penn's late father, an admiral who had defeated Charles II's enemies at sea, and he named the new province Pennsylvania in honor of Admiral Penn. Although certainly no admirer of the younger William Penn, Charles II was reawakening old ties of amity to counterbalance the increasing strength of parliamentary opposition to his rule. Charles's brother and heir presumptive, James, the Duke of York, who would become King James II in 1685, had a personal friendship with young William Penn. James' conversion to Catholicism around 1676 was seen as a major threat to the Anglican Church, and Charles II's resistance to proposals to exclude James from the royal succession were the center of political strife from 1678 to 1681. Historians disagree on how much influence James had with his brother at the time it was decided to grant the Charter, but his predicament as a nonconformist resembled that of William Penn.

The Charter gave Pennsylvania boundaries that seemed to be precise at the time, but eventually proved so ambiguous that, except for the Delaware River on the east, all had to be arbitrated and interpreted before agreements were reached with Pennsylvania's neighbors. The Penn family's hereditary ownership as "proprietors" was merged with its political power in a semblance of feudal tradition, though they could not form feudal contracts or create nobility. Their executive, legislative, and administrative powers were strong but also limited and neither the words "ruler" nor "governor" appear anywhere in the text.

With the advice and assent of Pennsylvania's freemen, the proprietor made laws, but these could not be contrary to English law and were to be reviewed by the King's Privy Council every five years. The proprietor set up local subdivisions, municipalities, ports, officials, law courts, and his own customs collection system; he nonetheless had to accommodate the royal customs operations. His government could not declare war, convict for murder or treason, or violate the Navigation Acts or England's other laws of commerce. The Charter's only mention of religion was a guarantee that any twenty Anglicans in Pennsylvania had the right to receive spiritual administration from a preacher sent over by the Bishop of London.

The Charter's first hundred years was eventful. In 1692, King William III revoked it, but it was restored to Penn in 1694. In 1700, William Penn's refusal to accept the Pennsylvania Assembly's proposed frames of government led him to threaten to govern on the basis of the Charter's provisions alone. Fortunately, a satisfactory frame of government was agreed to in 1701, but soon the lands of Pennsylvania became encumbered with mortgages. This uncertainty persisted well into the decade following



Penn's death. Dissatisfaction with the defense of the frontier in the French and Indian War fostered another attempt to replace charter government with royal colonial administration, but this movement also failed. When Pennsylvania entered the Revolution, the state took over the Penn family's title to the land by enacting the Divesting Act of 27 November 1779. This, coupled with the termination of proprietary government, seemed to make the Charter meaningless, but Pennsylvania revived it in 1782, as the only way to show primacy over Connecticut's claim to a large part of northeastern Pennsylvania. Today, the Charter provides the historical basis for chains of title in Pennsylvania's real estate system and for governments of the older political subdivisions of the state.

▲ Page one of the Charter of King Charles II to William Penn, March 4, 1681, iron gall ink on parchment, in Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State. Basic Documents of Pennsylvania Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds, Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.

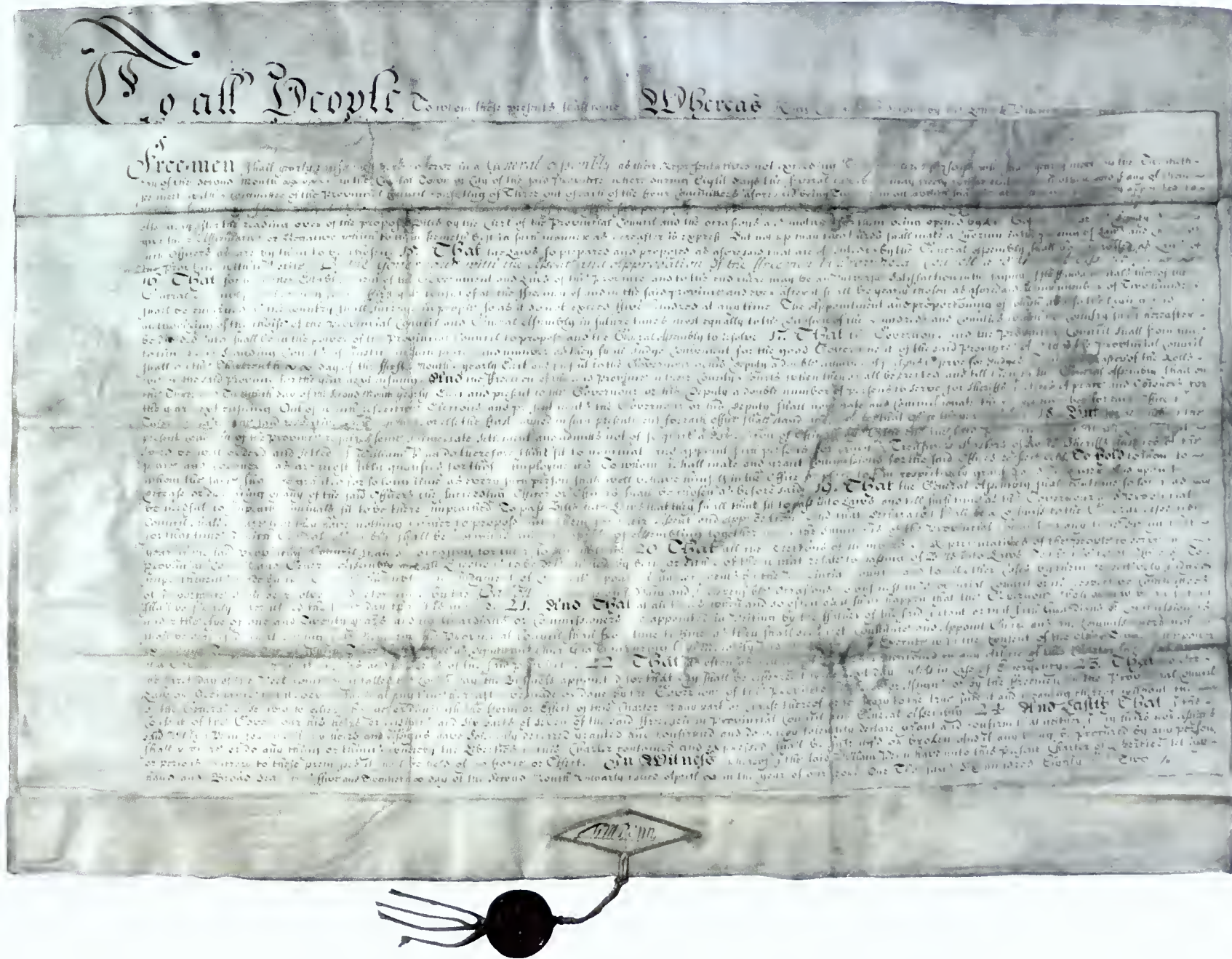
The Charter gave
Pennsylvania
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eventually proved
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In the summer of 1681 William Penn began the first of more than twenty preliminary drafts of his first plan for the government of Pennsylvania. These plans are usually referred to as frames of government, although they were also sometimes known as charters of privileges and charters of liberties. Even though Penn had expressed his view that political authority ought to reside with the freemen of the community, the First Frame that he finally issued on April 25, 1682, nonetheless severely limited involvement by common citizens. Penn's discarded drafts show that he had first planned for a legislature as powerful as England's House of Commons before deciding to shift most of the power to a governor's council composed of only the wealthiest colonists. At the suggestion of his Quaker attorney, Thomas Rudyard, he did not require members of the Council to

possess land and financial estate. Rudyard and Penn nonetheless both believed that the common people normally deferred to those who surpassed them in wealth and ability and would instinctively elect only men of affluence to the Council.

Under the First Frame, legislation was to be proposed by the seventy-two-member Council only in the presence of the governor. The lower house was to have two hundred members and could neither initiate nor amend legislation. Its role was limited

First Frame of Government, April 25, 1682, iron gall ink on parchment. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State. Basic Documents of Pennsylvania Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds, Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.

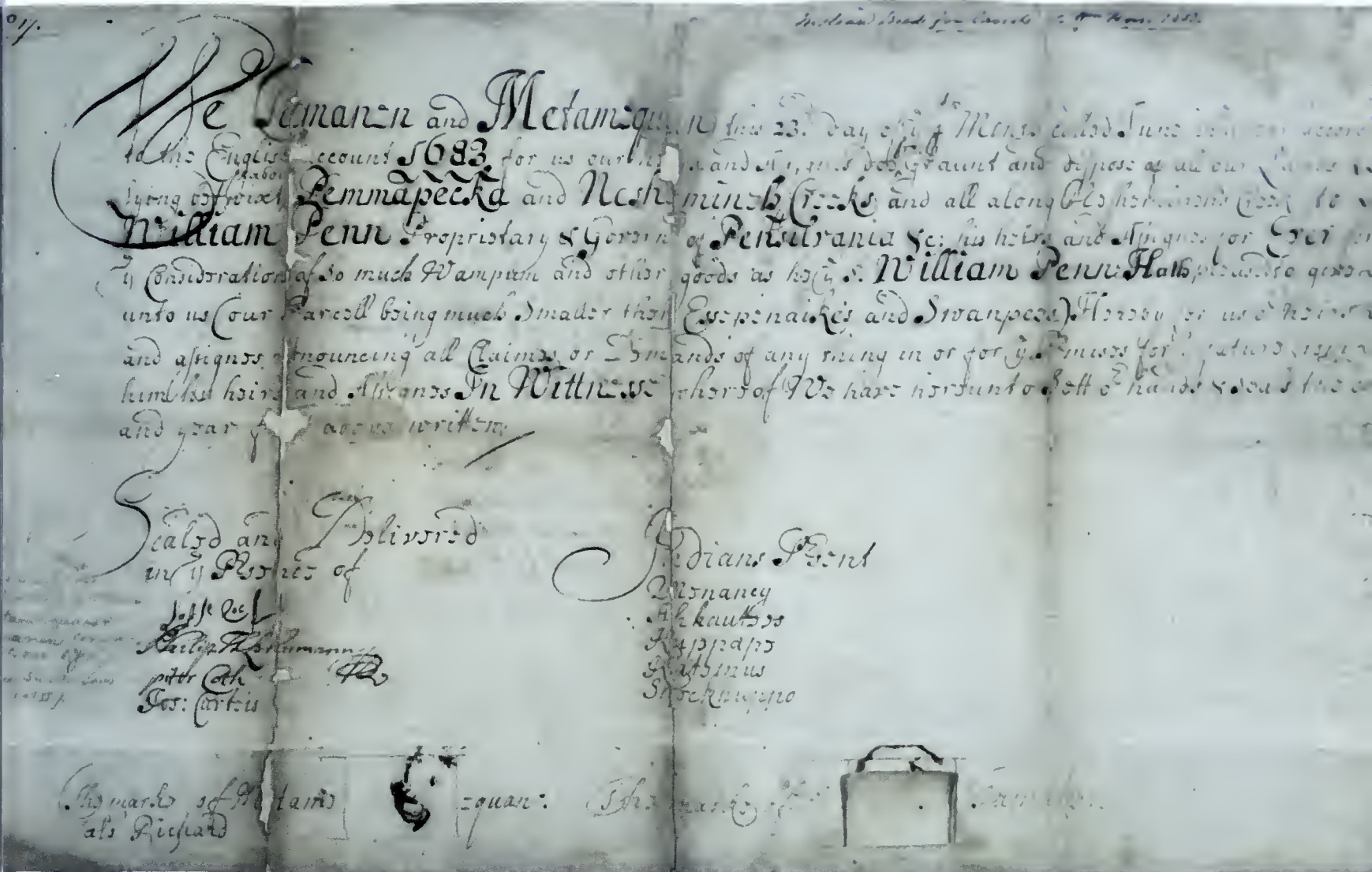


to debating internally bills handed down by the Council during a nine-day annual session, and to vote either affirmatively or negatively on the final day of the session. Both the Council and the lower house were popularly elected. One-third of the Council and all the members of the lower house were elected each year. The Council was to sit perpetually and organized the administration of government through its four standing committees: land development, the treasury, trade, and education and morals. The governor, who was assumed to be the hereditary proprietor, had three votes in the Council but the power of executive veto is not specified anywhere in the First Frame. Both popular elections and votes in the two legislative bodies were by secret ballot. Even though the preface to the First Frame promised that the text would be voted upon in the first legislature to meet in Pennsylvania, any amendment required approval of the governor and six-sevenths of the members of the legislative bodies.

Though the government system envisioned in the First Frame never materialized, the document was printed in several editions in England beginning in May 1682 and in a pamphlet that included both Penn's long preface stating his political philosophy and the "Laws Agreed Upon in England." The latter were thirty-nine suggested laws approved by the "Governor and Divers of the freemen of Pennsylvania" on May 5, 1682, with the proviso that they would be confirmed by the first legislature that convened in Pennsylvania. Most historical studies rely on this pamphlet. The two-page parchment copy in the State Archives illustrated here, however, bears Penn's personal seal and includes his signature. It

does not have the preface, nor does the term "frame" appear anywhere on its pages. It is for this reason that the alternate designation of "Charter of Liberties" has frequently been applied to it. Pennsylvania's first legislature was convened in Chester in December and rejected both the thirty-nine laws and the First Frame of Government. In February 1683, Penn convened another legislature by personal proclamation and it passed the Act of Settlement that authorized another legislature in April. The impractical standard of a two hundred-member lower house and a seventy-two-member council was abandoned in favor of a plan calling for a council of eighteen and a lower house of thirty-six, now also including the three counties of Delaware. The new General Assembly produced the Second Frame of Government (May 2, 1683) that followed most of the features of the First Frame, although the Council's power was strengthened at the expense of that of the governor. The governor's triple vote was replaced by the power to veto legislation he considered undesirable.

*Throughout his lifetime,
William Penn believed
that Indians and colonists
could live together in peace
and friendship.*



Land Grant with Receipt from
Tamanen to William Penn, June 23,
1683, iron gall ink on parchment. Record
Group 26, Records of the Department of
State. Basic Documents of Pennsylvania
Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds,
Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.

The summer before William Penn landed in Pennsylvania, his deputy, William Markham, made the first purchase of land from Native Americans. At some point after Penn's landing on October 29, 1682, the proprietor is known to have completed a general treaty of friendship with the Native Americans of the region called the Treaty of Shackamaxon. Unfortunately, the details of this event have survived only as incomplete reminiscences. Throughout his lifetime, William Penn believed that Indians and colonists could live together in peace and friendship. From the beginning,

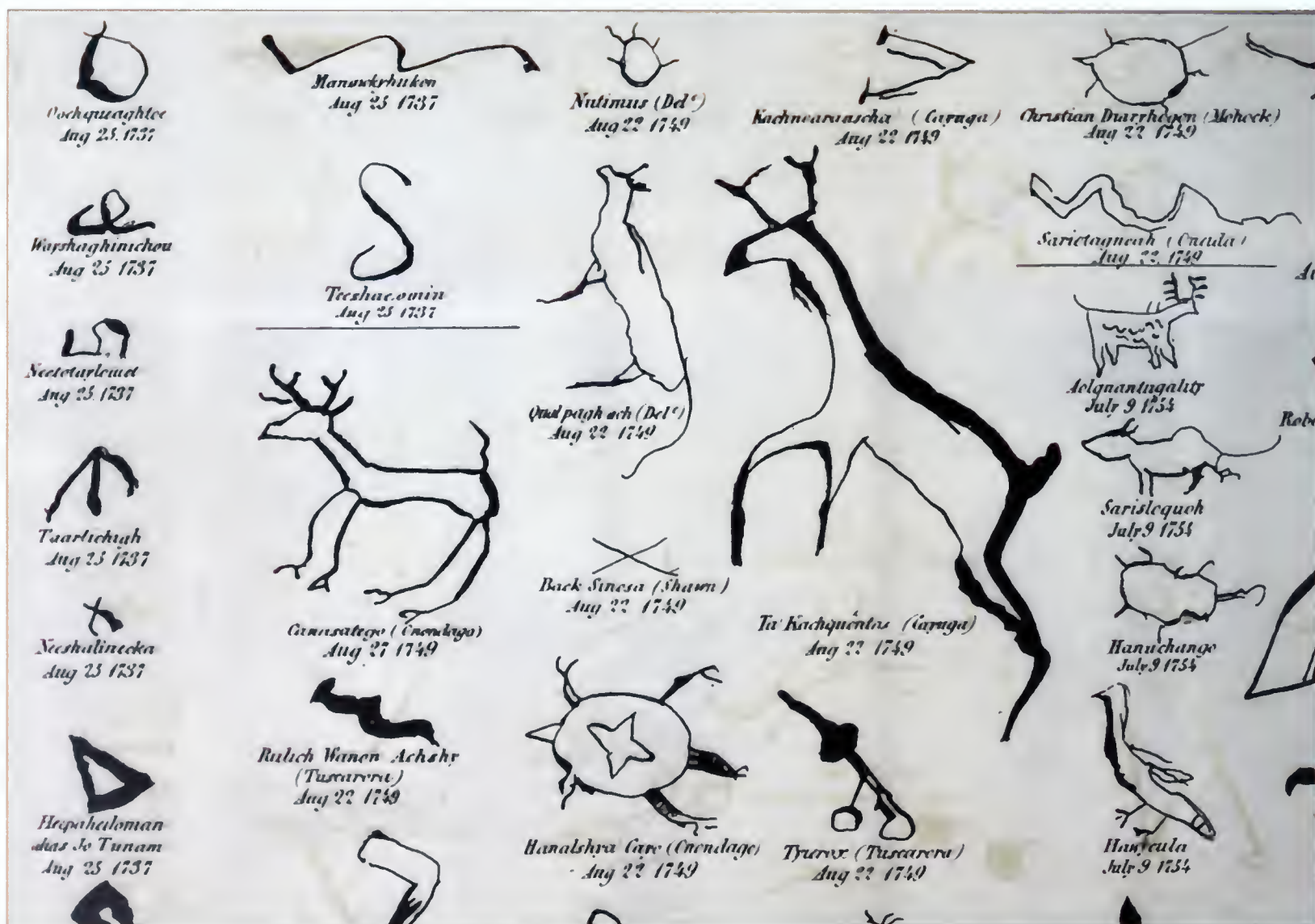
Pennsylvania's policy was always to purchase the land from the Native American occupants prior to granting title to European settlers. The Native Americans that Penn and his agents encountered prior to 1700 belonged almost exclusively to the loosely organized Lenni Lenape, whose name means in their language the "Real People" or the "Original People." The Lenni Lenape were divided into three tribes. These were the Unamis (Turtle Tribe) who occupied the lower Delaware Valley; the Minsi (Wolf Tribe) who occupied the eastern side of the Allegheny Mountains, and the Unalachtigo (Turkey Tribe) who occupied

the territory now encompassed by the state of New Jersey. The Lenni Lenape belonged to the Algonquin language family that also included the Mohican, Nanticoke, Conoy, and Shawnee. (The English came to refer to the Lenni Lenape as the Delaware Indians because they resided along both sides of the river that the English had named for Lord De La Warr, who became the first governor of Virginia in 1611.)

Five purchase documents completed on June 23, 1683, are among the oldest such items preserved in the State Archives. Shown on page 39 is the document for Lenape chief Tamanen's personal sale of land described only as being located somewhere between Neshaminy and Pennypacker Creeks near the Delaware River, probably in present-day Philadelphia and Bucks Counties. (The name Tamanen, which meant "the Affable," later became "Tammany" and was adopted by a secret fraternal society, the Sons of Tammany in the late eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, the name was used for New York's political machine, Tammany Hall.)

It is notable that Tamanen admitted his parcel was smaller than another sold to Penn in the same approximate location, on the same day, and that the purchase price was as many items as "Penn shall please to give." This may explain why the sentence acknowledging receipt was added to the grant, although it too does not give an exact price. On the same date, Tamanen also joined with another Native American, Metamequan, or "Richard," granting jointly to Penn land at the same location, as well as a receipt for payment in specific amounts of trade goods that Tamanen and Metamequan received. Furthermore, ten years later, Tamanen joined with other Lenni Lenape leaders in confirming in another deed that the Neshaminy and Pennypacker Creeks land sales had been final.

Detail of Indian Autographs, 1682-1785.
Published Pennsylvania Archives, First Series,
Volume 1, facing page 100.





This patent provides evidence of a change in English policy towards the colony of Pennsylvania and its proprietor. William Penn's right to govern, although not his proprietary ownership of Pennsylvania, was withdrawn in October 1692 partly because of the colony's persistent reluctance to cooperate in defending the empire. Penn's colony had twice refused to send assistance to New York in the face of threats by France and her Indian allies. In addition, Penn was known to be friendly toward the recently overthrown King James II, the enemy of the new sovereigns, William III and Mary II (daughter of James II). At the time of Penn's removal, all the North American colonies from Maryland northward were combined for military purposes under the command of New York Governor Benjamin Fletcher who was also appointed Pennsylvania's governor as part of this rearrangement.

By 1694, King William was faring much better in his war against France, in Europe and elsewhere. Capitalizing on this,

Detail of the Letters Patent from King William and Queen Mary Restoring Wm. Penn . . . Proprietor of Pennsylvania, to the Government of the Said Province, dated August 20, 1694. Record Group 26. Records of the Department of State. Basic Documents of Pennsylvania Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds, Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.

Penn campaigned vigorously to have his governorship restored and promised to comply with future calls for military support, to accept the laws imposed by Fletcher's government, and to place an acceptable deputy governor in Pennsylvania. Penn won approval of the Board of Trade and Plantations on July 27, 1694. In the absence of King William, who was commanding his army against France in Flanders, Queen Mary convened a royal council on August 9, 1694, which resulted in the letters patent terminating Governor Fletcher's authority and restoring William Penn as governor on August 20 of that year.

Whereas all government ought to be instituted and supported for the security and protection of the community, as well as to enable the Individuals who compose it to enjoy their natural rights and the other Advantages which the Nature & Providence has bestowed upon them. And whenever these great Ends of Government are not obtained, the People have a Right to remove it, to change it, or to take such Measures as to them may appear necessary to promote their Safety and Happiness. And Whereas, The Inhabitants of this commonwealth have in Consideration of Protection only heretofore acknowledged, Allegiance and Obedience to Great Britain and the said King has not only neglected that Protection but commenced and still continues to carry on, with unabated Cruelty a most cruel and unjust War against them, employing therein not only the most cruel and savage but foreign Mercenaries, Savages and Slaves for the avowed purpose of reducing them to a total and absolute Submission to the absolute Domination of the British Parliament with many other Acts of Tyranny more fully set forth in the Declaration of Independence hereby all Allegiance and Fidelity to the said King and his Successors are dissolved and at an End, and all Power and Authority derived from him ceases in these parts. And Whereas it is absolutely necessary for the Safety and Liberty of the Inhabitants of this commonwealth that they be united with free and Independent States and that just permanent and proper forms of government be established

them derived from, and founded on the Elasticity of the People only agreeable to the Directions of the Honorable American Congress. And the Representatives of the People of Pennsylvania in General Convention met for the Express purpose of forming such a Government, considering the goodness of the great Governor of the Universe (who alone knows to what degree of earthly Happiness mankind may attain by perfecting the art of Government) in consulting the People of this State by common Consent and without Reserve deliberately to form for themselves such just Rules as they shall think best for governing their future Society and being fully convinced that it would be an Indispensable duty to establish such original Principles of Government as would best promote the general Happiness of the People of this State and their Posterity, and provide for future improvements without partiality for or prejudice against any particular class, sect or denomination of Men whatever. Do by Virtue of the Authority vested in us by our Constituents Ordain, Declare and Establish the following Declaration of Rights and frame of Government to be the Constitution of this commonwealth and to remain in force therein forever unaltered, except in such Articles as shall hereafter on Experience be found to require Improvement, and which shall by the same Authority of the People partly delegated as this frame of Government directs be removed or improved for the more effectual obtaining and securing the great End and Design of all Government herein before mentioned.

Benjamin Franklin

In 1776, Pennsylvania adopted a new constitution that has been described as the most democratic in America. This constitution was the heart of a popular revolt against the existing government, one that had been brewing for months. Since the era of William Penn, the province had been governed under a succession of instruments known as frames of government. These documents restricted voting to men of property and assured domination by a largely Quaker ruling class. As immigration reduced the relative numbers of Quakers, their alliance with businessmen, members of other denominations, and pietistic Germans continued to return governments whose policies frustrated a growing number of people living on the expanding frontier.

Concerns for security, coupled with a growing mistrust of Parliament, caused the creation of Committees of Correspondence and groups of Associators who sought changes in the relationship between the colonies and the mother country. The presence of the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia since 1775 spurred the efforts of the anti-establishment forces. The old Assembly had sent delegates to the Continental Congress, but they had been instructed to vote against any proposal for independence. As sentiment began to build in the Continental Congress for a complete break with England after the publication of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* in January 1776, members of the Continental Congress took a great interest in Pennsylvania's internal affairs.

When an election held in May of 1776 returned the old-guard assemblymen to office, the Continental Congress responded by issuing a call for a new form of government "sufficient to the exigencies of affairs." Opponents of the Assembly demanded a convention be called to "take the sense of the province." Associators and Committees of Correspondence met throughout the province to vote their support for more aggressive action and to send delegates to a convention. The Assembly tried to meet this challenge by changing their instructions to the delegates to the Continental Congress, but events overtook them. In late June, the new convention representatives met in Philadelphia and by July 8 elected delegates to write a new state constitution. Deliberations began one week later under the chairmanship of Benjamin Franklin. George Bryan, James Cannon, and Benjamin

Franklin were the principal authors of the new constitution. Influenced by the language of the Stamp Act Congress, the First Continental Congress, and the Declaration of Independence, the authors crafted a document that proclaimed in detail the rights of citizens and expanded the voting franchise to all free men. Power resided in a unicameral legislature whose members were elected to one-year terms. Government was to be administered by a twelve-member Supreme Executive Council. The Assembly and Council together would elect one of these men to be president of Pennsylvania. A Council of Censors was also created whose members were to be elected every seven years to conduct, for a year, an evaluation of the activities of the government and to "censure" those actions that were deemed to have violated the new constitution. Any changes to the constitution could only be made through this Council of Censors.

In late September, the convention proclaimed this constitution and called for elections in November for a new Assembly to be convened under its provisions. By this time, the insurgents had already taken the reins of power from the old Assembly through popular support and the fact that the Second Continental Congress dealt only with the newcomers. As a result, no formal ratification of the new constitution was thought necessary.

In expanding the franchise and enumerating the rights of citizens, the framers of this new constitution increased the democratic nature of Pennsylvania's governing charter. In placing power in the hands of a single assembly, with neither a governor to veto laws nor an upper house to check popular enthusiasms, they set the stage for a less effective government. By writing test oaths into the document, they also assured that their opponents could not participate in the government, thus ensuring the very conditions of one-party rule this constitution had been intended to eliminate.

The new constitution was controversial from the beginning. Soon after the end of the Revolutionary War a new constitution was adopted in 1790, one which more evenly considered the complexities of government and the rights of citizens. Further constitutional development, however, would take place in the context of the democratic expansion created by this revolutionary constitution.

A Diverse People

1675

Even before William Penn received his charter in 1681, European settlers arrived on the land that is now Pennsylvania. During the opening decade of the seventeenth century, Dutch and English explorers claimed the region for their respective countries, but it was the Swedes who became the first Europeans to establish a permanent settlement in the area. Initially settling along the lower part of the Delaware River in the early 1640s, the Swedish settlement expanded into the region now occupied by Pennsylvania when Governor Johan Prinz of New Sweden established his capital on Tinicum Island, just south of the present site of the Philadelphia International Airport, in 1643.

When disputes erupted between the Swedes and the Dutch, who erected competing trading posts in the area, Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Netherlands (New York) seized New Sweden in 1655, making it a part of the Dutch colony. In 1664, the English seized the Dutch possessions in the name of the King's brother, the Duke of York. Except for a brief period, 1673–74, when the Dutch regained control, the region remained under the Duke of York's jurisdiction until William Penn secured his charter in 1681. The Duke of York's Laws established English laws and government in the area in 1676.

Among the Swedes were Matts Hanson and his wife Elisabeth, who married Anders Larsson Dalbo after the death of her first husband. All three were born in Sweden and had journeyed to America in 1640–41. Elisabeth had two sons to Hanson, one being Peter Dalbo/Dalboe for whom this survey was completed. Peter's three hundred acres lay on the "westward side of [the] Delaware river and on the Eastward side of the Schuyle Kill," adjoining the land of Peter Ramboe. Peter Ramboe was Dalboe's

father-in-law. At the time of the survey in 1675, Peter Dalboe already had a "dwelling house" on the property. This site is located approximately where the Thirtieth Ward of Philadelphia is found today.

Peter Dalboe's land was one of several tracts surveyed by Walter Wharton, an Englishman who lived in the region as early as 1671. He was commissioned as surveyor general by New York Governor Francis Lovelace at Fort James, and later received a commission from the Dutch colonial government when it regained control for the brief period in the 1670s. Until his death in 1679, Wharton surveyed hundreds of acres from St. Georges Creek in the present-day state of Delaware northward along the west side of the Delaware River to Neshaminy Creek in present day Bucks County, including the area that is now Philadelphia and its environs.

Also known as Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register, the survival of the New Castle Survey Notes volume illustrates the vagaries of government record keeping. It consists of thirty-three rag-paper manuscript pages recording fifty survey descriptions. In the 1954 introduction to his transcript of the record, the noted historian Albert Cook Myers reported that "just in the nick of time the register was rescued by a workman attracted by the antique handwriting" before "a pulping machine of a York County paper plant to which it had been sold by a Harrisburg junk dealer . . . was about to devour this precious old manuscript." Though the volume had been discarded by the state Land Office, Myers found a fragment of the first page "stuck fast, at that time [1926], in the metal file, marked 'Philadelphia Lots.'" Later, the register was placed in the State Archives to be filed among the records of the Land Office, Record Group 17.

Surveyed: the 12th day of October 1675: for Peter Dalboe: three hundred Acres of land situated the eastward side of Delaware river and on the eastward side of the Schuylkill being bounded as follows: Beginning on a point by the upper side of a rock at the mouth of a deep branch right and by the dwelling house of the said Dalboe: which said branch divideth this from the land of Peter Ramboe and from the said point running by the side of the said Kill or Creek North Easterly 30 degrees, 56 perches North Easterly 95 degrees, 32 perches: East by South 14 perches South East 26 perches: E S E 30 perches: North Easterly 61 degrees, 60 perches and North East 36 perches to a corn field white oak standing at the side of the aforesaid Kill or Creek: and from the said oak South East: By a line of mixed trees two hundred forty and four perches to a corn field white oak standing on a Barron Lovell: and from that oak South west by a line of mixed trees and hundred and thirty perches to another corn field white oak: the line in the East line of Passayunk land, being the upper most corner the land of Peter Ramboe and from thence North West by a line of mixed trees and hundred and sixty perches to a swamp: which descendeth into the first mentioned branch and from thence North West by downe the whole all courses of the said Swamp to the place of beginning: the which said line and Swamp divideth this from the Land of the said Ramboe:

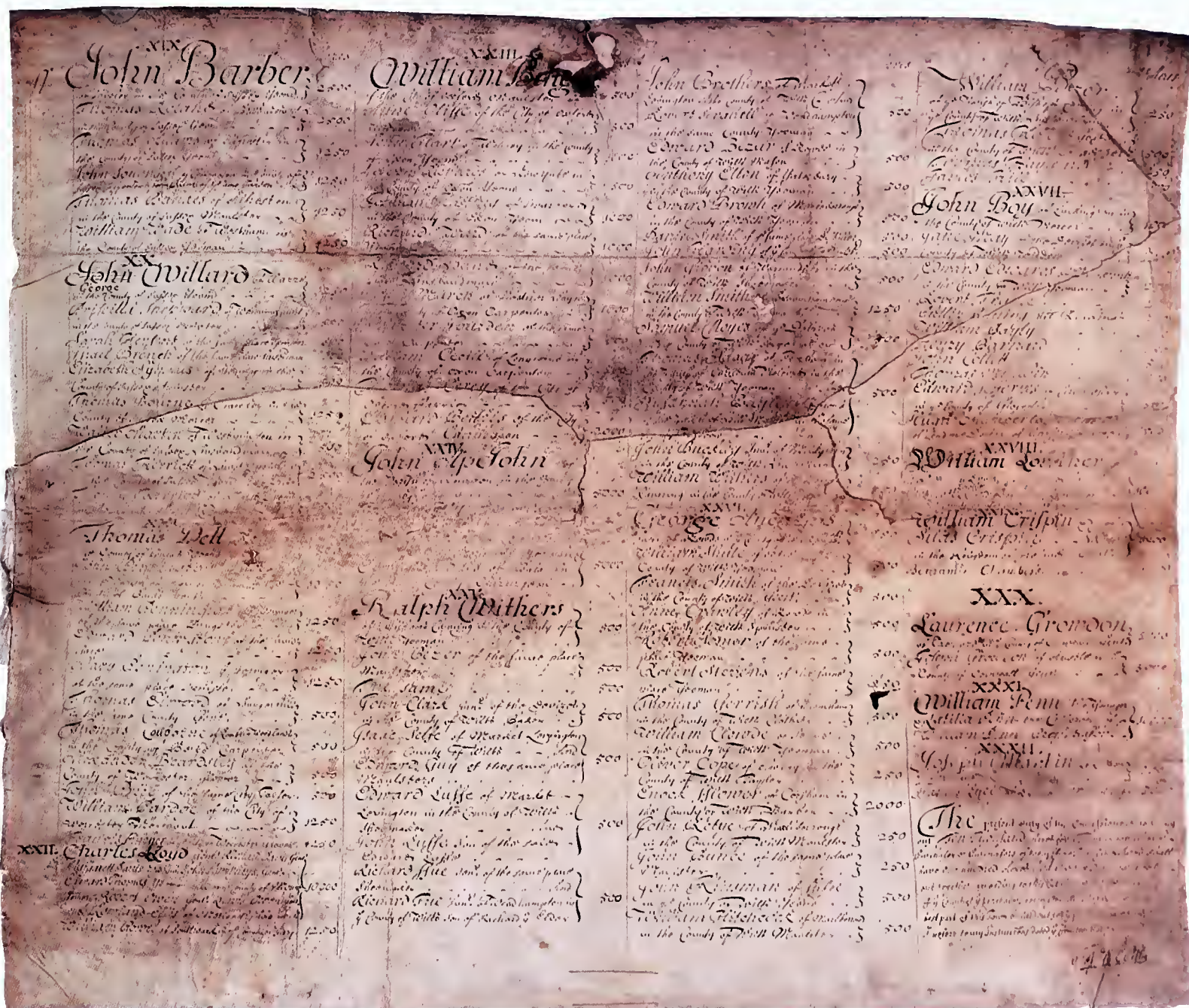
Return of survey for Peter Dalboe. Record Group 17, Records of the Land Office. Records of Pre-Penn Settlement, New Castle Survey Notes.

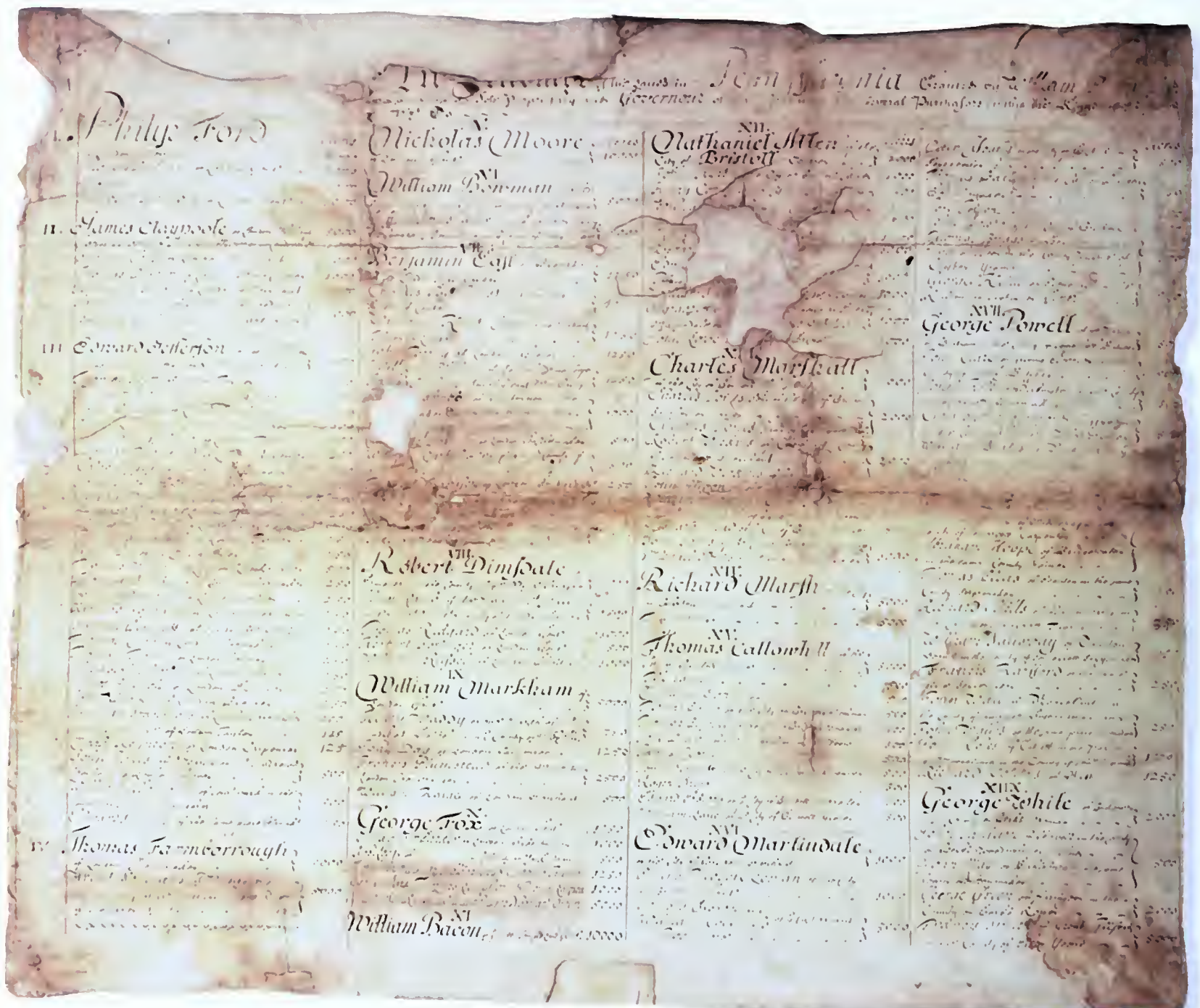
1681

In April 1681 William Penn first offered to sell five thousand-acre lots in Pennsylvania and on July 11 of that year he issued the more detailed "Certain Conditions or Concessions agreed upon by William Penn . . . [and] the adventurer[ers] and purchasers." The most important incentive offered was that each purchaser was to receive one free city acre lot in Philadelphia for each fifty acres purchased outside the city. These city lots were distributed by lottery. In order to discourage land speculation, no purchaser could obtain more than a thousand acres in a contiguous plot unless he guaranteed that he would settle one family on each thousand acres within three years. Penn originally planned on selling 500,000 acres at 50 acres per pound sterling, and on October 25, 1681, he issued a listing of the sales of the first 320,000 acres. The document below, has ever since

been referred to as a catalog. The list represents the sales made by late October when his land commissioners sailed for Pennsylvania. The catalog is divided into thirty-two sections of about ten thousand acres each and provides the purchasers' names, their place of residence at the time of purchase, their occupation, and the number of acres and price for each purchase. It does not show where the purchased acres lay in Pennsylvania. The locations of the tracts are not given and the land still remained to be surveyed and patented in Pennsylvania.

A second catalog, dated at the end of April 1682, lists 148 purchasers of 180,000 acres, bringing the total of sales to the intended 500,000 acres. The term "First Purchaser" is sometimes limited to the 407 people in these two catalogs, but by another and more loose definition, the term "First Purchaser" includes all





those who bought land directly from William Penn until his first return to England in August 1684. All the first catalog's purchasers, excepting a few relatives and professional employees of Penn, belonged to the Society of Friends (or Quakers). Most of these first purchasers lived in London, with smaller numbers residing in Bristol, the rural county of Wiltshire, a scattering from Wales and two from Scotland and two from Ireland. Most of the parcels were 50-acre, 250-acre, 1,000-acre, 1,250-acre, and 5,000-acre units, but six were as large as 10,000 acres. Only about half the purchasers actually migrated to Pennsylvania. Urban merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans were well represented in the group that actually migrated and they outnumbered the purchasers who were listed as gentlemen, yeomen, or husbandmen.

Above and overleaf: "An Account of the Land in Pennsylvania Granted by William Penn, Esqr. . . . To several purchasers within the Kingdom of England." Oct. 25, 1681. [the first Catalog of First Purchasers], 23"x27 1/2", iron gall ink on parchment. Record Group 17, Records of the Land Office.

◀ *Walking Purchase deed, August 25, 1737. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State. Basic Documents of Pennsylvania Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds, Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.*

Sealed, Subscribed and Delivered
in the presence of us

1. Hamilton
 2. Ed. L.
 3. Johnston
 4. Johnston
 5. Johnston
 6. Johnston
 7. Johnston
 8. Johnston
 9. Johnston
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 100. Johnston

Day of September 17th

The Walking Purchase deed *overleaf*, is perhaps one of the most infamous documents in the holdings of the State Archives. The deed by Teeshakomen, alias Tisheekunk, and Nootamis, alias Nutimus, grants to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn “all those tract or tracts . . . beginning upon a line formerly laid out from a corner spruce tree by the River Delaware, about Makeeriekkiton, and from thence running along the ledge or foot of the mountains, west north west to a corner white oak marked with the letter P, standing by the Indian path that leadeth to the Indian town called Playwickey, and from thence extending westward to Neshameney Creek, from said line the tract or tracts thereby granted doth extend itself back into the woods as far as a man can go in one day and a half, and bounded on the westerly side by the creek called Neshameney, or the most westerly branch thereof, so far as the said branch doth extend, and from thence to a line to the utmost extent of the said one and a half day’s journey, from thence to the said Delaware River, and from thence down the several courses of the said river to the first mentioned spruce tree.” Provincial Secretary James Logan asked for this deed in order to define the boundaries of a tract the Lenni Lenape had supposedly already agreed to sell to William Penn as early as August 20, 1686. Logan was, however, unable to produce an original copy of the supposed 1686 deed and none has surfaced since.

As in earlier deeds executed by Native Americans, part of the description specifies a distance defined as the amount of ground that can be covered by a man walking for a day and a half. Based upon a common understanding between the native population and the English settlers, at that time a typical day’s walk would be

expected to cover about twenty miles. This, however, became no ordinary walk, when Provincial Secretary James Logan advertised a prize for the fastest walker among a competition of three fast walkers to be held on September 19, 1737. In addition, Logan arranged for scouting parties in advance of the walkers to clear the terrain of obstacles. With the Indian observers who were to accompany the walkers dropping out in disgust, the fastest walker succeeded in covering sixty miles to the foot of the Kittatinny Mountains. To compound the fraud, instead of projecting the boundary line due east to the Delaware River at that point, they projected it toward the northeast to intersect the Delaware River at the Delaware Water Gap, thereby encompassing a vastly larger tract than would have been understood from a plain reading of the text. Pennsylvania’s Quaker Assembly protested this blatant abuse of power on the part of Pennsylvania’s proprietors and their agents. James Logan, however, enlisted the assistance of the Iroquois, whom he provided with additional presents for lands they had already sold on the Lower Susquehanna, if they would claim right of conquest over the Lenni Lenape. In the exchange, Iroquois chief Canasetego insultingly denounced the Lenni Lenape tribes as “women,” denied that they possessed the right to sell any land on the lower Delaware River, and ordered them, and their Shawnee allies, to remove from the Delaware Valley into the Wyoming Valley. Many of the Lenni Lenape and Shawnee instead chose to remove themselves from the dominion of both the Iroquois and the English by relocating to the Ohio River Valley where the bitterness created by this, and other accumulating abuses, caused them to ally with the French against the English when the French and Indian War broke out in 1754.

*Part of the description of
the Walking Purchase deed
specifies a distance
defined as the amount of
ground that can be covered
by a man walking for
a day and a half.*

In a letter in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania dated September 25, 1717, William Penn's Provincial Secretary James Logan expressed alarm at the growing influx of German immigrants into Pennsylvania:

There are diverse hundreds arrived here who have not one word of English and bring no credentials with them, a method we conceive no way safe for any colony. Tho we hope these may be honest men, yet by the same routes & methods a like number of Swedes might be poured in among us . . . The Palatines that come next spring must expect to pay 10£ per head here to the government for we are resolved to receive no more of them . . . our country people are inflamed against them and we are to sell them no more land. (Letter in collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Beginning in 1727 the proprietary government required captains of ships arriving in Philadelphia to record the names, occupations, and places of residence of all foreign passengers. Now called the "A Lists," most of these only show the names of adult male passengers (sixteen years of age or older); however, twenty-five captains also recorded the names of women and children. Three captains gave the names of both men and women while omitting children, and sixty-four captains provided the ages of passengers. Another set of lists, identified as "B Lists," contain the signatures of the adult male passengers required to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown and a declaration of fidelity to the proprietor of the province. Many of these only contain the names of those adult male passengers who were well enough on the day of the signing to appear at the courthouse, though after 1739 the Clerk of Council signed the names of absent passengers. Finally, the "C Lists" contain the signatures of adult male passengers to the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration of the Pope required by the Act of August 19, 1729. The abjuration declared "impious and heretical that wicked Doctrine and Position that Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered [*sic*] by their Subjects . . . [*and*] that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Preeminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within the Realm of Great Britain or Dominions thereunto belonging." Information common to all

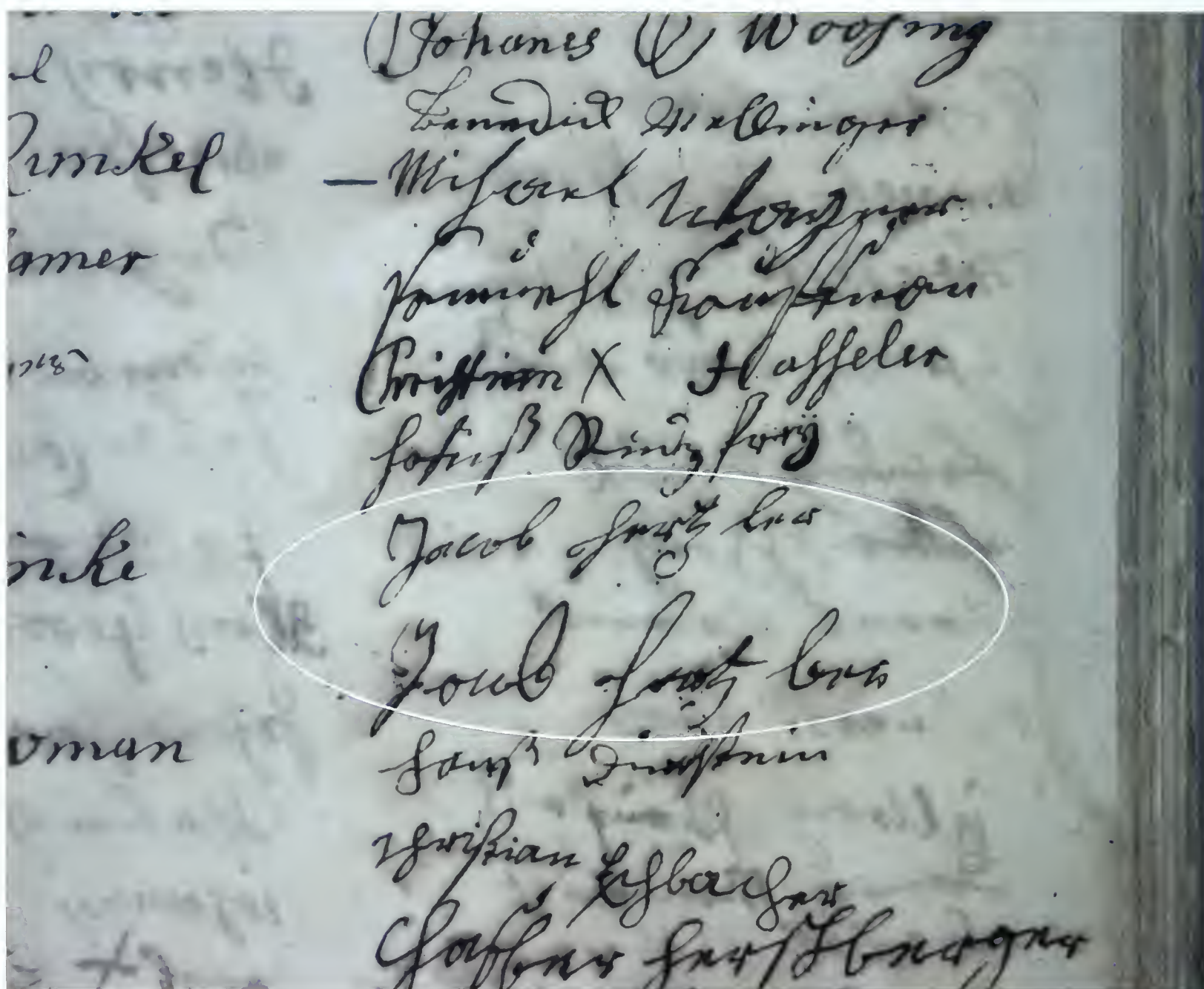
three types of lists includes the names of the adult male passengers, date of arrival, port of embarkation, and also the names of the vessel and its captain.

Among the 111 names of foreigners appearing on List 128, a "C List" prepared on September 9, 1749, for the ship *Saint Andrew* commanded by James Abercrombie that sailed from Rotterdam and Plymouth appears the name of Jacob Hertzler, the first Amish bishop in America. The name Jacob Hertzler appears twice—one is the signature of the elder Jacob Hertzler who, with his second wife Catharine Ruegy and their five children made the treacherous journey across the Atlantic in response to a call for a minister from the Northkill Amish community in Bern Township, Lancaster County (now Upper Bern Township, Berks County). The other signature is that of his son (1733–95) who, along with four siblings, accompanied their father on this voyage. On January 9, 1750, Jacob Hertzler received a warrant for one hundred acres of land in Bern Township that he named "Contentment." Here the Amish community erected a log schoolhouse and laid out the cemetery wherein Jacob, his wife Catharine, and his son Jacob are now buried.

Jacob Hertzler was born into the Amish-Mennonite faith in Canton Berne, Switzerland in 1703. Though named for the Dutch reformer Menno Simon, the Swiss Mennonites trace their descent from the Swiss Brethren of 1525 led by Felix Mantz and Michael Sattler who opposed infant baptism, participation in war, swearing of oaths, and the establishment of any type of state church. The Amish are a conservative splinter group of these Swiss Mennonites that emerged about 1693 when the Berne preacher Jacob Amman (ca.1644–ca.1730) began advocating holding meetings in houses and barns rather than church buildings and the use of the practice of shunning to enforce community discipline. Being a pacifist like other Swiss Mennonites, Hertzler naturally would have come into conflict with the Berne civil authorities for his refusal to bear arms in defense of the Canton. To escape religious persecution in Switzerland, Hertzler migrated into the German Palatinate where he lived for several years before following earlier Anabaptist refugees down the Rhine and through the ports of Rotterdam and Plymouth to Pennsylvania. The first Amish settler in Pennsylvania was Barbara Yoder who settled with her eight sons and one daughter along the

Manatawny Creek in the Oley Valley as early as 1714. Large numbers of Amish arrived at Philadelphia on the *Charming Nancy* on October 8, 1737, and many of these settled in the Northkill Creek settlement in the upper portion of what is now Berks County. With the arrival of Jacob Hertzler in 1749 to serve as their minister, and the first Amish bishop in America, the Northkill Creek settlement became the first organized Amish congregation in the New World.

▼ Signature of Jacob Hertzler, detail from *Ships' Passenger List*, opposite. If some of the signatures on this list appear difficult to read it is because they are in eighteenth-century *Deutsche Schreibschrift* (German handwriting). This evolved out of sixteenth-century German chancery writing called *Cantzley Schrift*. A conventionalized form of this type of handwriting designed by Berlin graphic artist Ludwig Sueterlin continued to be taught in Germany's public schools from 1915–41. Learning to read the old German handwriting remains important today for historians and genealogists who need to consult sixteenth through nineteenth-century Germanic records.



At the Court house at Philadelphia Saturday
the 9th ^{11th} ¹⁷⁴⁹ Present 18
The Honourable the Governor

The Foregners whose Names are under written, imported
in the Ship ~~Albany~~ Andrews James Abercrombie Master
from Rotterdam but cast from Plymouth in England did
this day take the usual Qualifications to the Govern-
ment by the list III. Persons 400. Palatine.

Ship Passenger List 128, a "C List," prepared September 9, 1749, for foreign passengers arriving aboard the Saint Andrew commanded by James Abercrombie. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State. Ships' Lists of German Passengers.

Zebias Freund
 Josef Burgst
 Arnold ^{his} ~~mon~~ Krammer
 Joseph ~~im~~ ^{im} ~~br~~
 Johannes + Rinkel
 Henry + Hamer
 Adam Linx ~~Bo~~ ^{gus}
 Josef ~~st~~ st ~~st~~
 Jacob + Linke
 Egidius ~~st~~
 Peter + Bauman
 Jacob ~~st~~
 John ~~st~~ st
 Egidius ~~st~~
 Albrecht + Clara ~~st~~
 Johann ~~st~~ st
 Egidius ~~st~~
 Johann ~~st~~ st

[illegible]

Sir

I take this opportunity to Inform you that
last Friday two men came to my House
& forwarned me not to work on the Indian
Lands in the manner of Cannestoge, for
that nine or ten families intended to come
from the ~~Back~~ parts & settle on it this week
or Next I thought it my Duty to Inform you
of this matter that you might be able to give
such orders as you shall Judge necessary.

I told the men I had no power to settle on the
Land but only to take care of it & that I should
Inform you

I am your Wth Serv^t

March 12th 1764

Jacob Wiffler

1764

The first of these letters in the Land Office collection is an urgent message alerting Surveyor General William Peters that two men had come to Jacob Whisler's home informing him that nine or ten families intended to take possession of those vacant Indian lands in Conestoga Manor for which Whisler was responsible. According to the second letter, by April 9 the two Scots-Irish families of Richard Meloon and Robert Bow, formerly of Donegal Township, were actually in possession of some of the Indian land and asserted that they would defend their possession to the death for they "care for no Governor, Sheriff nor any other officers until they can peaceably go on their own Lands again to Settle and will allow no other Person or Persons to settle there." The Indian land in question was that recently occupied by the Conestoga Indians massacred by the so-called "Paxton Boys" in December 1763. This land had been set aside for the use of the small number of Conestoga Indians who had returned to the lower Susquehanna from the Potomac River during the 1680s. By reason of the cutting down of the forests, and consequent decline in the fur-bearing animal populations, by the time of the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 these Christianized Indians had been reduced to a state of poverty and dependency. By the 1760s, one among them named Bill Sock was accused by Paxton rangers of having committed murders on the frontier while away under the pretense of hunting game.

On the morning of December 14, 1763, an undetermined number of frontier rangers from Paxton bent on taking the law into their own hands descended on the Indian town in the Conestoga Manor and slaughtered all six of the inhabitants they found there, burning all of the Indian cabins to the ground. The remaining fourteen residents of the Indian town survived the massacre for the moment because they were away selling willow baskets at the Martic Forge Iron Furnace that morning. These survivors were taken under the protection of the local authorities to the workhouse attached to the Lancaster jail for their own protection. Two weeks later, about fifty Paxton Boys led by Captain Lazarus Stewart descended suddenly on Lancaster, broke into the workhouse, and slaughtered all fourteen survivors including Bill Sock. The Paxton vigilantes subsequently threatened to march on Philadelphia and slaughter Indians living under the protection of the Pennsylvania Assembly but were dissuaded by a defensive force raised by Benjamin Franklin. Lazarus Stewart later wrote in defense of his actions:

Were the counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton protected by government? Did not John Harris of Paxton ask advice of Col. Croghan, and did not the colonel advise him to raise a company of scouts, and was not this confirmed by Benjamin Franklin? And yet when Harris asked the Assembly to pay the scouting party he was told that 'he might pay them himself.' Did not the counties keep . . . up the rangers to watch the motions of the Indians; and when a murder was committed by an Indian a runner with the intelligence was sent to each scouting party, that the murderer or murderers might be punished? Did we not brave the summer's heat and the winter's cold, the savage tomahawk, while the inhabitants of Philadelphia County, Bucks and Chester ate, drank and were merry? If a white man kill an Indian it is a murder far exceeding any crime on record . . . If an Indian kill a white man, it is an act of an ignorant heathen, perhaps in liquor, Alas! He is sent to the friendly Indians that he may be made a Christian! (Cited in Sherman Day Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.)

In a letter to merchant Isaac Whitlock dated January 16, 1764, Susanna Wright of the nearby settlement of Wright's Ferry, expressed great anxiety that the Paxton vigilantes were still roaming freely and had made threats against not only other Indians, but also against Israel Pemberton, the leader of the Quaker faction in the Assembly, and against her own brother, James Wright, under whose care the Conestoga Indians had been placed by the governor. The possession of vacant lands in the Conestoga Manor had long been a matter of dispute between the proprietary government and several families of landless Scots-Irish squatters from Derry Township who were evicted as early as 1730 when they attempted to settle on the manor lands. Permanent occupation by Europeans of former Indian lands in Pennsylvania long remained a sensitive topic among the former native owners. Though the Conestoga Manor lands themselves had already been purchased from the native owners, in a letter to Deputy Governor Patrick Gordon dated September 28, 1730, Conestoga Chief Tagotalossa, writing under his English name of Captain Civility, complained bitterly that John Wright and Samuel Blunston of Wright's Ferry were breaking their agreement that they not survey land for settlement on the western shore of the Susquehanna River without the consent of the Conestoga Indians. These letters are representative of the bitter legacy of long festering grievances between representatives of the proprietary government, Scots-Irish squatters, and the last remnants of the Conestoga Indians.

Lancaster County April 9th 1764

Sir

We have been appointed to take Care of the Indian manner / Therefore acquaint you that there is already two families Living on said Land and the third is already a Moving there and is expected to move on said Lands Every day the names of those as Han Larn is Richard Meloon and Robert Bow the thirds name unknown I have therefore taken some of the Neighbours as witnesses and for warned them of the Land the answer was that they had possession and would keep it and would loose there lives - before they would be turned of the Land they care for no Governour, Sheriff nor any other Officer untill they can peaceable go on there own Lands again to settle and will allow no other Person or Persons to settle there without themselves the above Robert Bow is a Relation to the Scotts families in Donegall

I leave this to your own consideration have no further to add but with high Esteem I remain

Yr

Your most Obedt Serv^t
Jacob Whisler

Letter, Jw. 4
Whisler to William
Peter, April 9, 1764
Record Group 17
Records of the Land
Office, Correspondence
Relating to Onestoga
Minor Land.

1765

his trader's license signed by John Penn in 1765 illustrates the influence of William Penn's concern for good relations with the Indians of the province.

This concern dated from the very first days of the proprietorship and covered a variety of interactions between the two groups of inhabitants. The charter of King Charles II effectively denied Indian sovereignty and gave William Penn full authority as a proprietor. Penn, however, wrote on July 11, 1681, "that the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their Ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the [white] planters shall enjoy." In the distribution of land, he further directed that "Indian Fields" be reserved to the proprietor. This provision was designed to protect established Indian living areas.

Though the concept of land ownership differed between the natives and the European newcomers, Penn began to make formal purchases of land on the European model and forbade any but the proprietors from buying land from the natives. In fact, many of the early treaties were less like deeds for definite tracts of land than they were documents designed to provide "satisfaction of individual and group claims within certain vaguely defined areas." As a consequence, native settlements frequently remained in place after a land purchase. Penn's own accounts of his early meetings with the Indians demonstrate a respect for their customs and a desire that the two cultures peacefully coexist. He was nonetheless enough of a realist to know that unfettered expansion and peaceful interaction could probably not coexist forever. Thus, in addition to the restriction on land transactions he also placed limitations on trade with the natives.

Penn's own accounts of his early meetings with the Indians demonstrate a respect for their customs and a desire for the two cultures to peacefully coexist.

Many of Penn's policies continued to be carried out by his sons after his death. In letters of August, 1732, Thomas Penn restated his father's desire for peace and good relations. He specifically noted that, in furtherance of this, a misbehaving trader had recently been severely punished. In August of 1735, in a speech to several native chiefs, he stated "that for the prevention of abuses that are too frequently put upon the Indians in trade, that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer or permit any person to trade or commerce with any of the said Indians, but such as shall be first allowed or approved of by an instrument under his hand and seal of him." He went on to say

that the proprietors would ensure that quality goods at reasonable rates would be made available in order to reduce the temptation on the part of the native inhabitants to deal with unlicensed traders. In 1734 John Penn, at a meeting with Indian chiefs, remarked how difficult it was to prevent rum sales in the deep woods. He restated that licensed traders would be severely punished if caught making such sales. As the document (p. 58) illustrates, a license was issued for a set period of time, the bounds where trade could be conducted were specified, and the rules of trade were reaffirmed.

While the pressure of increased settlement and colonization made the enforcement of Penn's policies difficult, his successors attempted to use some of the formalities that reflected the views of the first proprietor. This license was issued after the French and Indian War, a time when many disaffected Lenni Lenape and Shawnee tribesmen had sided with the French. It is a testament to Penn's vision at a time when long simmering resentments had recently spawned a bitter legacy of war and massacre.

By the Honorable
JOHN PENN, Esquire,

Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties
of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on DELAWARE.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, or may concern; Greeting:

WHEREAS *Thomas Apty of the City of Philadelphia* hath _____
prayed my
Licence to trade with the Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom his Majesty is con-
nected, and who live under his protection; and hath given security to observe such Regula-
tions as his Majesty shall at any Time think fit, by himself, or by his Commissaries to be appoint-
ed for that Purpose, to order and direct for the Benefit of the Trade with the said Indians; and
not to trade or traffick with; or vend, sell, or dispose, of any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes of
any Kind whatever, to any Indian or Indians within the Country of any the Indian Nations afore-
said, beyond the Settlements of the Inhabitants, except at *Fort Augusta* _____ and
the Forts or Posts which are already, or shall hereafter be established by his Majesty, and garrisoned
by his Troops. I Do THEREFORE hereby authorize and empower the said *Thomas Apty*
_____ to trade with the said Nations or Tribes of Indians for the Space of one
Year from the date hercof. This Licence to be void, and the Security forfeited in Case the said
Thomas Apty _____ shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as afore said.

GIVEN under my Hand, and Seal at Arms, at PHILADELPHIA, the *Twenty first*
Day of *June* _____ 1765 In the *fifth* Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord
GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of G O D, of GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND, KING,
Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

By His Honour's Command,
Joseph Shippen Junr
Secretary

Trader's License signed by John
Penn. Record Group 21. Records of
the Proprietary Government. Indian
Trader Licenses.

Although pressure of
general ordinance and
regulation under the
proprietary government policies
imposed by successors
attempted to use
some of the formalities
that reflected the
mode of the first Proprietor.

1780

Though African slaves accompanied the first Dutch emigrants to the Delaware River valley during the seventeenth century, resistance to slavery emerged from an early date in Quaker Pennsylvania. Germantown Quakers unsuccessfully petitioned for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania in 1688, and by 1700 perhaps one thousand slaves resided in Pennsylvania among a population that totaled thirty thousand. In 1712, the Quaker-controlled Assembly attempted to tax the continued importation of slaves but the Privy Council blocked this effort. Despite rising opposition by a growing number of liberal-thinking Quakers, many Quakers nonetheless owned slaves during this period and by 1750 Pennsylvania's slave population rose to six thousand among a total population of one hundred twenty thousand. Most slaves in Pennsylvania worked as laborers on farms and iron plantations or as skilled craftsmen. As in other colonies, they were restricted from marrying Europeans or meeting in large groups, and they could not travel far from their master's home. By 1754, the Philadelphia Friends' Yearly Meeting was urging a program of general emancipation, and Quakers played a prominent role in the creation of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery in 1775.

Pennsylvania's 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery was the first such legislative act for gradual abolition passed in the nation. Drafted by a committee strongly inspired by the philosophy of natural rights that had been articulated by the

Commonwealthmen in England during the seventeenth century, and more recently in the writings of Benjamin Rush and Thomas Paine in Pennsylvania, this legislation was guided through the Assembly by radical leader George Bryan. It opens by expressing gratitude for the deliverance of the colony from the tyranny of Great Britain and the opportunity to "extend a portion of that freedom to others." The act freed few slaves immediately, but rather specifies that "every Negro and Mulatto child born within the State after the passing of the Act would be free upon reaching the age of twenty-eight." Upon release, the freed slaves would receive certain freedom dues, "such as tools of their trade," just as did indentured servants who completed their service. After the bill passed by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-one, slave owners were required to register their slaves, or risk their slaves being immediately set free. Though English and Scots-Irish families owned the greatest number of slaves in Pennsylvania, the Episcopalian and Presbyterian representatives in the Assembly split on the vote and the greatest opposition was registered by Lutheran and German Reformed representatives who apparently feared the social and economic impact of abolition. In 1781, an effort was made to repeal the law that was narrowly turned back. In 1788, the law was modified to prevent additional slaves being brought into the state. While the first Federal Census of 1790 recorded 3,737 slaves still residing in Pennsylvania, by 1840 the number declined to 64, and a decade later there were none.

► *Overleaf: Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, March 1, 1780, iron gall ink on paper. Official laws and resolutions passed by the General Assembly are written in this sort of large legal hand, called in Latin en grossa, and signed by the speakers of the House and president pro tempore of the Senate. Many such early "Engrossed Laws" retain their original cords and wax seals, though this one does not. Record Group 26, Records of Department of State. Engrossed Laws.*

Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery

When we contemplate our Abolvement of that Condition to which the Arms and Tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back on the Variety of Dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our Wants in many Instances have been supplied and our Deliverances wrought, when even Hope and human Fortitude have become unequal to the Conflict, we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful Sense of the manifold Blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being from whom every good and perfect Gift cometh. Impressed with these Ideas we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our Power, to extend a Portion of that Freedom to others, which hath been extended to us; and a Release from that State of Servitude, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every Prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to enquire, why, in the Colonies of Hankent, the Inhabitants of the several parts of the South, were distinguished by a difference in Feature or Complexion. It is sufficient to know that we are

1788

Slavery ended in Pennsylvania by degrees as Philadelphia Quakers moved from a ban on buying slaves in 1755 to a prohibition of slave ownership within the Society of Friends in 1774. Subsequent to that time, Quakers who decided to not free their slaves left the society. The slaves themselves frequently took advantage of the turmoil of the Revolutionary War to flee to the British Army or to escape to Canada. The revolutionaries' rationale for war rested upon a rhetoric that was grounded in natural rights and humanitarian appeals. Radical Assemblyman George Bryan, one of the drafters of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, was particularly active in encouraging the Pennsylvania Assembly to address the slave issue and on March 1, 1780 that body passed "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery." Under the provisions of this act, no slaves born prior to enactment would be freed if their owners registered them at once. Owners could also be ensured twenty-eight years of servitude from the offspring of their female slaves if the owners registered the newborn. Under the terms of the legislation, these children would become free at age twenty-eight. Slavery therefore would remain legal in Pennsylvania, albeit in a restricted form, for an additional generation. Fortunately, social pressures continued to erode popular support for the institution and full abolition was achieved in the Commonwealth in 1847. Pennsylvania's 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery was the first legislative act against slavery in the United States.

Resistance to the 1780 act was strong in southwestern Pennsylvania. Slave-owning Virginians who had moved into that

area had learned in 1779 that they were now residents of Pennsylvania as a result of an agreement between Pennsylvania and Virginia on the location of Pennsylvania's disputed southwestern boundary. These slave owners considered abolition to be a confiscation of property and, rather than accede to gradual abolition, many Virginians moved down the Ohio River into Kentucky.

In the midst of the slave registrations required by the 1780 act, Fayette County was created out of the southeastern rib of Westmoreland County in 1783. One of the absentee property owners in what is now Perry Township, Fayette County, was Colonel George Washington. Letters from his overseer Valentine Crawford concern the condition and sale of Washington's slaves and servants. Slaves were bound for life, while bondmen servants were obligated for a limited term, the age thirty-one referenced in the 1780 Act. One source indicates that a displeased Washington decided to sell his Fayette property because of that act of gradual abolition. An amendment in 1788 ensured that slaves brought into the state by someone intending to become a resident were immediately free.

The prothonotary of the new county, Ephraim Douglass, dutifully filed birth returns for "negroes and mulattoes." Returns for the years 1788–1826 are found in the Fayette County Records and among these are also found certificates of a few slave registrations for other counties, presumably for slaves whose owners had moved into Fayette County.

1788 Sept the 23 Washington Township Fayette County
State of Pennsylvania, ~~Reed~~ Lucy a Mulatto
girl born in Sept 1781 Thomas Amolatto
Boy born in June 1785, the above Children
were born of Noguee a Negro Slave, the pro-
perty of the Subscriber ————— William Goe

▲ Record Group 47, Records of the County Governments, Fayette County Prothonotary Records, Returns for Negroes and Mulattoes.

M. Margreth Hutton make application for
Recording a negro Child Finck Daughter of
Henriette born March 10th 1791

Fayette Co Before me came Margreth Hutton
and Made Oath according to Law that the above
is the true age of the Child aforesaid ~~Queen~~
Sworn & subscribed the 4th day of July 1791
Before Edw Cook M. Hutton

N.B. The above said Henriette is a negro Slave. M. Hutton

Alexander McLean Esquire Surveyor &c of Fayette County in the
District of Union. Returns a Negro Male Child Named "Harry" Born of the Boon
of his Negro Slave named "Sal" on the twenty eighth day of December Anno
3 o'clock P.M. to be entered of Records
29th December 1789
Ephraim Douglass Esquire C.P.

Alexander McLean

1836

Under the terms of Pennsylvania's Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery passed in 1780, the "peculiar institution" continued to exist in this state for several decades. In 1792 Revolutionary War veteran Major Thomas Boude of Columbia is listed in local tax records as owning 122 acres of land and a mulatto servant named Stephen Smith. Soon after Major Boude purchased Smith from the Cochran family of Paxton, Smith's mother ran away from her masters in Paxton to be with her son in Columbia. When Mrs. Cochran subsequently barged into Major Boude's mansion that stood opposite his lumberyard on Front Street to retrieve her "property," Boude was forced to purchase the mother as well. The child at the center of this high drama was subsequently able to purchase his own freedom in 1816 and by dint of extraordinary talent and labor emerged as a lumber and real estate tycoon reputed in his day to be the richest Black man in America.

As early as 1833, Smith had amassed property holdings valued at \$6,500 at a time when the cumulative valuation of all of the real estate holdings of Columbia's other thirty-four Black property owners combined totaled just over \$8,460. By that period, migration of freed Blacks and runaway slaves from Maryland and Virginia had swelled the proportion of free Blacks in Columbia's population to 21 percent. By 1834, deep cleavages were emerging between Columbia's hard line abolitionists, on the one hand, and local members of the newly formed Columbia Colonization Society, on the other, who favored abolition but who also wished to resettle freed Blacks in Africa. In a public meeting held on August 5, 1831, Stephen Smith denounced the colonization scheme as an instrument of southern policy. The presence of upwardly mobile Black property owners amid a population also containing substantial numbers of poor white working men bred deep racial resentments that

were continually fanned by inflammatory rhetoric of southern sympathizers promoting fears among the white population of what they called "racial amalgamation." Amidst deep resentments on the part of white working men, three nights of rioting erupted in Columbia in August 1834 during which white rioters drove hundreds of Blacks from their homes into the surrounding countryside. A resolution was passed at a meeting of white workingmen held on August 23, 1834, asking Black property owners to sell all of their real estate holdings. However, when Stephen

Hon John Strohm.
Columbia S.C. Jan 15 1836
Dear Sir
Though an overruling policy, not
grounded in justice has assigned me with thousands of others a place
without the pale and influence of your political judicature, yet
I trust the claims of friendship who has hope that ever we
gathered with mutual regard will if steps are on the present occa-
sion in soliciting your aid in the passage of such laws as
will aid in securing and protecting the Citizens of this
Commonwealth from those acts of popular violence from which
you are aware I have been a common sufferer.
The suicidal character of those proceedings are
an obstacle to a more peaceable race furnished an eloquent ex-
-ample for the enemies of a republican government, and universal
freedom. The murderous edicts of the South (through the medium
of their Church Courts) are probably are probably about to receive
the royal sanction of government that the noblest object of our
high and lofty patriotism is to disregard the supremacy of laws.
The many appeals that will doubtless be made to both the
Governor, and Legislature to the Convention of our State and then
him to your honorable body may see the passage
such laws as shall inflict heavy penalties on such as
followed Citizens as shall dare to dissent from the
policy that would strip the interest of slaveholding. The
popularity of the various slavery will doubtless prove the
-net in the bosom of every freeman in this Commonwealth.

▲ Letter, Stephen Smith to John Strohm,
January 15, 1836. Manuscript Group 121,
No. 265. John Strohm Papers.

Smith actually placed an ad in the *Columbia Spy* on September 13, 1834, offering to sell, no one was able to make a serious purchase offer for such prodigiously large holdings.

A second wave of riots reported in the October 4, 1834, issue of the *Columbia Spy* targeted the homes of Columbia's Black middle class and resulted in the destruction of Smith's Front Street office. All eight young white men actually arrested and charged with rioting were acquitted. In 1836, Stephen Smith wrote a letter (p. 63) to Pennsylvania Representative John Strohm, reminding him of the recent lawless events in Columbia and imploring him to exercise his influence to protect the rights of free Blacks in Pennsylvania. Despite such appeals from the Black community, also exemplified by the July 8, 1837 "Memorial of Free Citizens of Color," free Blacks in Pennsylvania were nonetheless disenfranchised by a vote of seventy-seven to forty-five when the words "white freeman" were inserted into the voting requirement for the new Pennsylvania Constitution that went into effect on October 9, 1838.

Despite such setbacks, Stephen Smith's personal fortunes continued to rise. When Smith expanded his businesses to

Philadelphia in 1842 he placed a relative, William Whipper, in charge of the Columbia end of his operations. By 1849, the firm of Smith & Whipper owned twenty-two rail cars that were transporting thousands of tons of coal and 2.25 million board feet of lumber annually. During the same period, Smith also owned fifty-two brick houses in Philadelphia in addition to his substantial Columbia real estate holdings. It is believed that some of the rail cars used by the firm had false ends that were used to hide fugitive slaves. The abolitionist John Brown conferred with a number of Black leaders at Stephen Smith's Philadelphia home on March 15, 1858, concerning plans for causing a major slave insurrection throughout the southern states. William Whipper later admitted to having assisted hundreds of escaped slaves to reach Canada prior to the Civil War. Upon his death in 1873, Smith left the greater portion of his estate to the House for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons (now the Stephen Smith Home) in Philadelphia, the Zion Mission in Philadelphia, and a number of Black churches in Chester, Pennsylvania, and Cape May, New Jersey, where he owned a summer home.

Article III.

In elections by the citizens every white freeman of the twenty one years, having resided in this State one year and in the election district where he offers to vote, immediately preceding such election, and within which he has paid a State or County tax, which shall have been

▲ Detail of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838 voting provision limiting the franchise to "white freeman." Record Group 26, Records of Department of State. Basic Documents of Pennsylvania Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds, Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.

1837

Founded by clergyman Robert Finley in Washington, D.C. in 1816, the American Colonization Society sought to resettle freed Blacks in Africa. The idea of colonization resulted in odd and shifting alliances prior to the Civil War. A substantial base of support originally existed for the colonization scheme among white southerners until colonization became increasingly tied to the abolition of slavery. From the outset, however, many Black abolitionists resisted the idea of being forced to leave the only homeland they had ever known. From 1835 to 1865 the Pennsylvania Colonization Society published the monthly *Colonization Herald and General Register* in Philadelphia that vigorously promoted the colonization of freed Blacks in Liberia.

In his letter to Ovid F. Johnston dated February 2, 1837, concerning possible federal funding for colonization, Pennsylvania Senator James Buchanan wrote:

I should be extremely sorry, if the gentlemen who signed the memorial of the last year should insist upon my bringing the subject before Congress at the present session. It would then appear like a movement of the Democratic Party of Pennsylvania in favor of appropriating the public money in aid of the Colonization Society. Such an attempt, at this moment, from such a quarter, would only injure the cause and produce an excitement on the subject of slavery which may be productive of the most injurious consequences. It would separate the Democracy of Pennsylvania from that of the other states and produce the greatest embarrassment to the new administration [of President Martin van Buren]. Colonization was popular in several of the Southern States before the abolition excitement commenced. It has now but few friends in that quarter, and a vast majority of the people are bitterly opposed to it. The appropriation of money to this purpose has always been considered unconstitutional by a large majority of the Democratic party, whether friends or foes of colonization.

This advocacy of moderation was written against the larger background of Senator Buchanan's compromise proposal that had ended the "Gag Rule Controversy" on March 14, 1836, by a vote of thirty-four to six. Where John C. Calhoun of South Carolina proposed rejecting all abolitionist petitions to end slavery in the

District of Columbia, and Henry Clay of Kentucky advocated receiving and giving consideration to all such petitions, Buchanan's compromise solution was to receive and then immediately reject all such petitions. While the subtlety of the difference between Calhoun's position and Buchanan's position may easily escape us today, it was nonetheless perceived as a sufficiently critical difference at that time to garner a majority vote in the Senate while being rejected by such bitter enemies as Daniel Webster of Massachusetts on the one hand and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina on the other.

In 1856, Buchanan's skill in the art of compromise resulted in his becoming, by a narrow margin, the only Pennsylvanian so far elected president of the United States. When, after four frustrating years as president, Buchanan announced he would not run for reelection, the Democratic Party split into factions and Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president in a four-way race in which he carried not a single southern state and less than 40 percent of the popular vote. Upon learning the results of the election, South Carolina immediately seceded from the Union and was quickly followed by seven other states. During the remaining three months of his term, President Buchanan refused to recognize the right of any state to secede from the Union but also vowed he would commit no act of aggression toward the seceded states. Though he refused to give in to demands by South Carolina to surrender Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens, reinforcements sent to Fort Sumter were turned back by rebel artillery. Informal agreements between Buchanan and South Carolina prevented the formal outbreak of war until after Lincoln had moved into the presidential mansion. The rebellion that was touched off by the failure of Buchanan's policy of conciliation reached its high water mark in Pennsylvania in 1863 during the Gettysburg campaign when rebel advance forces approached within a dozen miles of Buchanan's Lancaster County home.

Letters such as Buchanan's (p. 66) provide historians the opportunity to examine both the inner thoughts as well as the rationalizations that shaped the actions of their authors. They also can document how personal connections and changing spheres of influence continually reshape the currents of history. In some cases, the discovery of a single letter can completely transform scholars' conventional interpretations of a historical event.

I think a movement upon the Slavery question
 comes from agitators or pacificators. It is worse
 than for the Democrats, by making an insignificant
 movement, to incur the hazard of being confounded,
 in the great public mind, with those whom we,
 with the whole South, consider unwearied agitators.
 I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

2 Feb '37
 Sir, I have been quite sick since
 I received your letter; and this is the only reason
 why I did not give it an immediate answer. I am
 sorry I am not able to write to you at length on
 the subject.

I should be extremely sorry, if the gentlemen
 who signed the memorial of the last year should
 insist upon my bringing the subject before Congress
 at the present session. It would then appear like

the new administration. I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

of the course I have taken in this matter,
 we do not. I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

I am, Sir, Sir, Sir.

P.S. If these colonization petitions come here they will
 just produce as great an excitement, at the present
 moment, as abolition petitions. There is the last thing
 we wish to see the presence of colonization ought to
 serve, allaying of the wrath men of the South,
 who are expected by the moralists of the
 North, against it and not more dangerous.

the party of Pennsylvania
 the public money in aid
 of an attempt, at
 a quarter, would only
 an experiment on their
 may be productive of
 success. It would be
 from that of the
 in a most embarrassing

In 1856, Buchanan's skill in
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 becoming, by a narrow margin,
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▲ Letter from James Buchanan to Ovid
 Johnston concerning a proposal made by peti-
 tioners of the American Colonization Society
 asking for public funding, February 2, 1837.
 Manuscript Group 28, James Buchanan
 Collection.

1872



◀ Watercolor sketch in small notebook kept by Lloyd Mifflin containing observations on various works of art he observed during his European tour. Manuscript Group 165, Lloyd Mifflin Collection.

Born in 1846, the noted landscape artist and poet Lloyd Mifflin was the son of the portrait artist and miniaturist John Houston Mifflin and Elizabeth Ann Bethel Heise of Columbia, Pennsylvania. Lloyd Mifflin studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia and was also privately tutored by the noted Philadelphia etcher, lithographer, engraver, and landscape artist Thomas Moran. In 1871, Mifflin made sketches along the entire length of the Susquehanna River from its source at Lake Otsego in New York to the Chesapeake Bay. He kept this notebook while embarked upon his European grand tour in 1872. Though the entries are undated, this watercolor sketch appears amid the context of notations regarding art works he observed in London galleries including *Agrippina Landing with the Ashes of Germanicus* that he describes as “one of the loveliest in color and most perfect in form. He glazes much and bathes the whole in one bath of universal glowing color, no darkness, all light.” Mifflin goes on to note that *The Sun of Venice Going to Sea* is a painting in the same manner “but it wants the glow of the former, is pale.” This watercolor

sketch is apparently Mifflin’s effort to achieve such a glow in his version of the scene.

While in England, Mifflin traveled as far as Liverpool with the art critic James Jackson Jarves and went on to study under Hermann Herzog in Düsseldorf before ascending the Rhine to sketch mountain studies in Switzerland. Descending into Italy,

the radiant atmospheric effects of the Italian landscape enabled him to refine his use of color to achieve a blend of clarity and luminosity. The etchings *Aldornere* and *The Susquehanna* were among nine dry point etchings used to illustrate his anonymous work of poetry entitled *Aldornere: A Pennsylvanian Idyll*, published in Philadelphia by John Pennington & Son in 1872.

Lloyd Mifflin went on to produce literally thousands of glass plate negatives that served as photographic studies for his paintings. The



▲ One of nine original dry point etchings by Lloyd Mifflin used to illustrate his anonymous poetical work entitled *Aldornere*, 1872. Manuscript Group 165, Lloyd Mifflin Collection.

State Museum of Pennsylvania today owns the single largest collection of Lloyd Mifflin landscapes and the State Archives owns hundreds of glass plate negatives that served as studies for Mifflin's canvases. In addition to his extraordinary output of fine landscapes, Lloyd Mifflin also wrote more than five hundred sonnets and two hundred lyric poems that were privately published in such works as *The Hills*, *At the Gates of Song*, *The*

Slopes of Helicon and Other Poems, *Echoes of Greek Idylls*, *The Fields of Dawn and Other Sonnets*, *Toward the Uplands*, *Flower and Thorn*, *My Lady of Dawn*, *The Fleeing Nymph*, *Castalian Days*, *The Collected Works of Lloyd Mifflin*, and *As Twilight Falls*. The first of these, *The Hills*, was illustrated with drawings supplied by his old friend and mentor, Thomas Moran. Lloyd Mifflin died at his Norwood estate outside Columbia on July 16, 1921.



◀ Glass plate negative made by Lloyd Mifflin depicting his self-portrait bust, undated. Manuscript Group 165, Lloyd Mifflin Collection.

Photograph of the working model of Daniel Drawbaugh's telephone. This working model was submitted as an exhibit for the defense in court proceedings brought by the American Bell Telephone Company and its subsidiaries against the People's Telephone Company, ca. 1880. Manuscript Group 214, Warren J. Harder Collection.



ter in a teacup and an iron hoop or "tambourine" receiver for one-way transmission of the sounds of the human voice. Drawbaugh soon replaced the hoop with a paint can, and then with a mustard can. A tumbler contained the components of the battery-energized transmitter that employed a finely powdered low conductor material that for the first time operated on the principle of variable resistance. By February 1875, he was employing a modified magneto in his "talking machine."

Drawbaugh's slow progress in perfecting his talking machine was soon overtaken by events when Alexander Graham Bell publicly demonstrated his first telephone on June 2, 1875 and filed for a patent on February 14, 1876. Patent #174,465 was issued to Bell for this invention on March 7, 1876. This patent appli-

Though the earliest historical reference to a telephonic device is sometimes attributed to the work of Chiang Shun Hsin who constructed in the early sixteenth century what was described as a "thousand mile speaker" out of a roll of copper shaped like a fife, it was not until 1800 that Alessandro Volta's invention of a crude battery made possible the development of modern long-distance electrical communications. Portrait painter Samuel F. B. Morse achieved the first milestone with the invention of a magnetic telegraph in Morristown, New Jersey, on January 6, 1838. In an article published on August 25, 1854, the French Army telegrapher Charles Bourseul first proposed a method for electrically transmitting human speech using a metal disk that would vibrate in response to a human voice, carrying a signal through an electrical wire to another disk that would vibrate in synchrony with the first disk. In Frankfort, Johann Philip Reis was the first person to actually demonstrate such a device in 1861 using a membrane diaphragm rather than a metal disk for the transmitter and a wire wrapped steel knitting needle for the receiver. This device could, however, transmit the tones of the human voice in only a very crude fashion.

During the summer that General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia embarked on the 1863 Gettysburg Campaign, Daniel Drawbaugh of Cumberland County was already seriously pursuing the development of a practical telephone. Born at Eberly's Mills in 1827, Drawbaugh had obtained his first patent in 1851 for a barrel stave-joining machine. By 1863 he was experimenting with a crude talking machine consisting of a transmit-

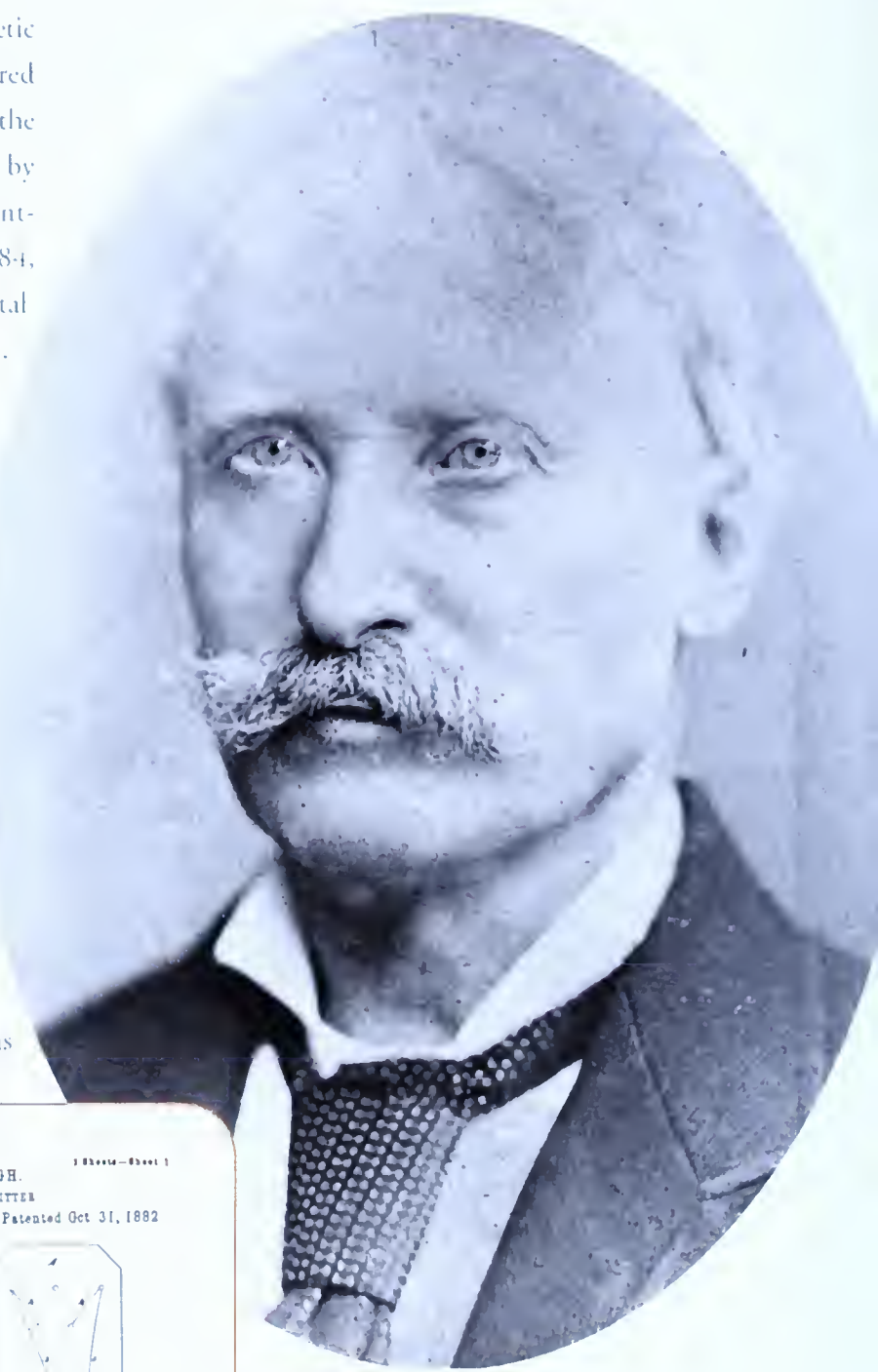
ter in a teacup and an iron hoop or "tambourine" receiver for one-way transmission of the sounds of the human voice. Drawbaugh soon replaced the hoop with a paint can, and then with a mustard can. A tumbler contained the components of the battery-energized transmitter that employed a finely powdered low conductor material that for the first time operated on the principle of variable resistance. By February 1875, he was employing a modified magneto in his "talking machine."

cation was for a magneto type transmitter, though it also mentions a liquid variable resistance type transmitter. The Bell patent became the subject of extended litigation beginning in 1878 when Elisha Gray and Amos Dolbear were backed by Western Union as prior inventors of the telephone in the *Bell v. Dowd* litigation that was settled in favor of the Bell Company. A United States court also ruled that the earlier Reis telephone did not anticipate Bell's work because it achieved only the transmission of tones, and not fully articulate speech. As word spread that an inventor residing at Eberly's Mills might also possess a prior claim to the invention of the telephone, on May 6, 1880, Edgar Chellis, Lysander Hill, and Michael Jacobs each acquired a quarter interest in the then existing inventions of Daniel Drawbaugh and organized the People's Telephone Company. In response to the claim for the Drawbaugh telephone on behalf of this company, in 1880 the American Bell Telephone Company, and its New York subsidiary the Metropolitan Telephone and Telegraph Company, filed suit in the Southern District of New York against the People's Telephone Company.

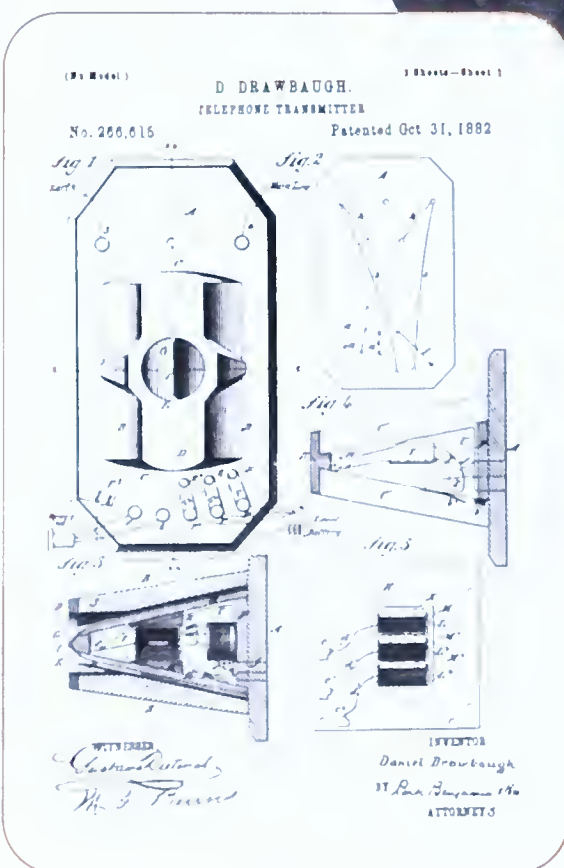
Drawbaugh probably first became aware of the Bell telephone in the summer of 1876 when he visited the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, but made no claim of his own until

four years later. Instead, he devoted his energies to a magnetic clock, an improved measuring faucet, and a water-powered motor during these years. Though the court conceded that the examples of the "D" and "E" magneto instruments made by Drawbaugh in February 1875 were as good as those later patented by Bell, the court nonetheless found on September 22, 1884, that Drawbaugh's talking machine remained an experimental device until several years after the Bell patent had been issued. No early papers or sketches were produced by the Drawbaugh defense. The defense testimony was based almost entirely upon the fallible recollections of large numbers of witnesses living near Eberly's Mills. The Supreme Court ultimately upheld the lower court ruling in favor of the Bell Company in a narrowly divided decision issued on March 19, 1887. After obtaining over seventy patents, thirty-five of which were for improvements to the telephone, the "Wizard of Eberly's Mills" died at his home on Cumberland Street in Camp Hill on November 3, 1911. The People's Telephone Company was dissolved on April 2, 1924, and its subsidiary, Drawbaugh Telephone and Telegraph Company, expired automatically at end of its charter on January 1, 1933.

Nearly half a century after his death, Drawbaugh's work was memorialized in a biography by Harrisburg author, newspaper correspondent, and photographer Warren J. Harder entitled *Daniel Drawbaugh, The Edison of the Cumberland Valley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960). The Warren J. Harder Collection (Manuscript 214) at the Pennsylvania State Archives contains a treasure trove of documentation relating to the life and inventions of Daniel Drawbaugh and to the various Bell litigations. On May 1, 1965, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission unveiled a historical marker commemorating Drawbaugh's life at Eberly's Mills.



▲ Portrait of Daniel Drawbaugh, the "Wizard of Eberly's Mill", ca. 1900. Manuscript Group 214, Warren J. Harder Collection.



◆ Diagram of an improved version of Daniel Drawbaugh's telephone transmitter granted Patent #266,615 on October 31, 1882. Manuscript Group 214, Warren J. Harder Collection.

1936

The United States is a nation of immigrants, and Pennsylvania has had a diverse immigrant population since colonial days. To participate fully in the political sphere of the New World, immigrants were required to be naturalized. In the past three hundred years, however, less than half of them chose to do so. Before the Revolutionary War, all persons born in the British Empire, including Pennsylvania, were automatically British citizens. Naturalization was necessary only for those born in other countries such as France, Holland, and the German principalities. Pennsylvania's Constitution of 1776 provided that every freeman twenty-one years of age or older who had resided in the state for a least a year before the next election would enjoy the privileges of citizenship.

With the formation of a new country—the United States of America—the naturalization process became vested in Congress by the Constitution, for citizenship now belonged to the nation rather than the individual colonies or to Great Britain. In 1790, Congress passed the first federal naturalization act that allowed any court of record to review and approve requests for citizenship. To bring greater uniformity and control to the naturalization process, Congress established the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization (which eventually became the Immigration and Naturalization Service) within the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1906.

Generally, an alien was required to be a resident of the United States for at least five years before naturalization. Until 1922, women most often became citizens by virtue of their husband's naturalization or native-born status. A 1929 amendment to the 1906 naturalization law included, among other changes, a provision that a photograph was to be attached to the declaration of intention. The naturalization process consisted of three basic steps as illustrated by these documents. First, the alien filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen. The declaration could be made at any time after the alien arrived in the United States. As demonstrated by this example, a certificate of arrival was filed with the declaration in accordance with amendments to the 1906 law. After the applicant met the five-year residency requirement,

he or she could then petition a court of record for naturalization. The petition was to be supported by the affidavits of American citizens who knew and could vouch for the character of the applicant. The petition usually is the document that will provide the most information about the immigrant, restating information contained in the declaration as well as giving details about residency. After the court heard the petition, the immigrant took an oath of allegiance to the United States and renounced allegiance to any other country or sovereign before receiving the certificate of naturalization.

American genealogists prize naturalization records because they provide concrete links to ancestors' places of origin in other countries. Twentieth-century declarations and petitions are the most complete, providing date and place of birth, arrival information, and information about spouses, children, and residency in the United States. As shown on page 72, Hilja Makela was born "Hilja Maria Paananen" in Karstula, Finland, on March 10, 1892. She arrived in New York on December 10, 1911, having traveled on the steamship *New York*. She eventually settled in Ashtabula, Ohio, where she married Charles Makela, another Finnish immigrant, on January 8, 1916. In 1919 the couple had a child, Kaarlo, and the family moved to Erie County, Pennsylvania, in April 1926. Hilja filed her declaration of intention with the Erie County Court of Common Pleas on April 6, 1936, and completed the naturalization process by taking the oath of allegiance on September 30, 1938.

*The United States
is a nation of immigrants,
and Pennsylvania
has had a diverse
immigrant population
since colonial days.*

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by
clerk)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 6394

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

To the Honorable the Common Pleas Court of Erie County at Erie, Pa.
The petition of Hilja Makela hereby filed, respectfully shows:
(1) My place of residence is 3626 Amherst Rd., Erie, Pa.
(2) I was born in Marstula, Finland on March 10, 1892 My race is Finnish
(3) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on April 6, 1936 in the Common Pleas
Court of Erie County at Erie, Pa.
(4) I am married. The name of my wife or husband is Jan. 8, 1916
we were married on Crinesa, Finland
born at Crinesa, Finland
at Crinesa, Finland

No. 8616

TRIPLICATE
(To be given to
declarant)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DECLARATION OF INTENTION

(Invalid for all purposes seven years after the date hereof)

In the Common Pleas Court
of Erie County at Erie, Penna.
I, Hilja Makela
now residing at 3626 Amherst Rd., Erie, Pa.
Occupation Housewife
Sex Female
color of hair Brown
race Finnish
I was born in Marstula, Finland
I am married
we were married Jan. 8, 1916
born at Crinesa, Finland
at Crinesa, Finland
I have one child
my last full name Hilja Makela
I emigrated to the
my lawful entry for perma-
under the name of Hilja Makela
on the vessel SS New York

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the immigration records show that the alien named below arrived at the port, on the date, and in the manner shown, and was lawfully admitted to the United States of America for permanent residence.

CERTIFICATE OF ARRIVAL

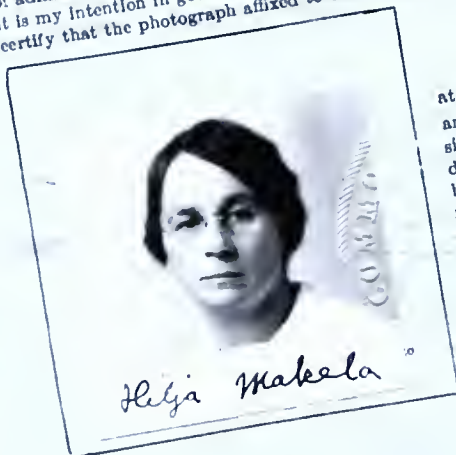
Paananen, Hilja
New York, N.Y.
December 10, 1911
SS New York

I FURTHER CERTIFY that this certificate of arrival is issued under authority of, and in conformity with, the provisions of the Act of June 29, 1906, as amended, solely for the use of the alien herein named and only for naturalization purposes.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, this Certificate of Arrival is issued
February 13, 1936
(Date)

Form 161-Im. U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1934 14-29015

I will, before being admitted to citizenship, state, or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, of admission a citizen or subject; I am not an anarchist, it is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States; I certify that the photograph affixed to the duplicate and triplicate



Hilja Makela

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Erie, Penna. this 7-57735 day of February, 1936. Certification No. 7-57735 showing the declarant of Immigration and Naturalization showing the declarant for permanent residence on the date stated above, by me. The photograph affixed to the duplicate and triplicate hereof of the declarant.

[SEAL]

By Lawrence A. Taylor
Clerk of the Common Pleas Court.
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

▲ Naturalization Papers of Hilja Makela. Record Group 47, Records of the County Governments. Naturalization Papers, Prothonotary, Erie County.

The Changing Landscape

1688

Though the Charter from King Charles II granted legal title to all of the land in Pennsylvania, William Penn's "Holy Experiment"—that idealized harmony between all peoples—led him to purchase legal titles from all of the various Native American tribes who either already occupied, or otherwise held claim by right of conquest, to the same lands. Penn acquired eleven separate Indian deeds between 1682 and 1684 for lands lying mostly along the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers and the adjacent areas. On July 30, 1685, the Lenni Lenape sachems Shakhoppoh, Secane, Malebor, and Tagoras conveyed to William Penn lands "lying between Macopanackan als. Upland, now Chester river or creek, and the river or creek of Pemapecka, now called Dublin Creek, Beginning at the Hill called Conshohockin, on the River Manaiunck or Schoolkill, from thence extends in a parallel line to the said Macopanackan als. Chester creek, by a South Westerly course, and from the said Conshohocken hill to ye aforesaid Pemapecka, als. Dublin creek as far as the creek extends and so from thence North westerly back into ye Woods, to make up Two full Daies journey as far as a man can go in two dayes from the said station if ye sd parallel line at Pemapecka, also beginning at the said parallel Macopanackan, als. Chester Creek, and so from thence up the said creek as far as it extends; and from thence North Westerly back into the woods to make up Two full Dayes Journey, as far as a man can go in two dayes from the sd station of the sd parallel line at ye sd Macopanackan als. Chester creek."

The first attempt to perform a rudimentary survey of the western extent of this not very precisely defined grant was undertaken in 1688 when Pennsylvania Surveyor General Thomas Holme appointed Benjamin Chambers to traverse and record the

features encountered along the sixty-six-mile long, two-day journey to the Susquehanna River. With this purchase, Penn acquired a legal title to a portion of the ancient seat of the Susquehannock Indians that were first encountered by Captain John Smith in 1608 at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. This tribe was known as the Minquas by Dutch settlers living along the Delaware River, and as the Andastes or Gandastogues by the French. Though the Susquehannocks are believed to have been racially and linguistically related to the Iroquois family, they were subjects rather than full-fledged members of the Iroquois Confederacy known as the "Five Nations."

Aware that both the Iroquois and the Susquehannocks themselves also possessed legal claims to lands in the Susquehanna River valley, Penn could not yet rest satisfied that his title to what he had just purchased from the Lenni Lenape was secure. On January 13, 1696, Penn obtained from New York Governor Thomas Dongan whatever interest Dongon had acquired from the Iroquois in "all that tract of land, lying upon, on both sides the river commonly called or known, by the name Susquehana River, and the lakes adjacent, in or neare the Province of Pensilvania, in America, beginning at the mountains or head of said river, and running as farr as and into the Bay of Chesapeake." On September 13, 1700, Widaagh, alias Orytyagh, and Andaggy-Junqagh, kings or sachems of the Susquehannock Indians, conveyed to William Penn their interest in the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna, and comprising the same lands covered by Dongon's deed." This was followed up by Articles of Agreement between William Penn and Connodaghton et. al. representing the Susquehannock, Shawnee, and North Potomac Indians in ratification of both Dongon's deed and the Deed of September

13, 1700, by "the Susquehanna, Shawona, Potowmik, and Conestogoe Indians," on April 23, 1701.

Ostensibly the result of careful firsthand observations made along a single line of travel, the Benjamin Chambers survey map reveals just how little was until then known by most Englishmen about this vast region at the time the original purchase was made. The primary features depicted are rivers, creeks, rivulets, runs, brooks, and Indian footpaths. The Swedes' Mill, Clayton's Mill, and several residences such as that of Thomas Pearce are all located near the extreme eastern portion of the map.

The site of "Fort Demolished" at the western extremity of the map is that of the Susquehannock fort that stood on what came to be known to archaeologists as the Strickler Site located south of present-day Washington Boro in Lancaster County. Having a population estimated to have exceeded four thousand, the Strickler Site was abandoned after repulsing a major Iroquois attack in 1663 when the Susquehannocks temporarily relocated, first to the western shore of the Susquehanna, and then to the Potomac River. The bend visible in the "Conestogon River" lies near where the remnants of the Susquehannocks and Senecas (who returned to the area during the 1680s) were living at the time of William Penn's visit to the region in 1701. By 1697, the Maryland Indian trader John

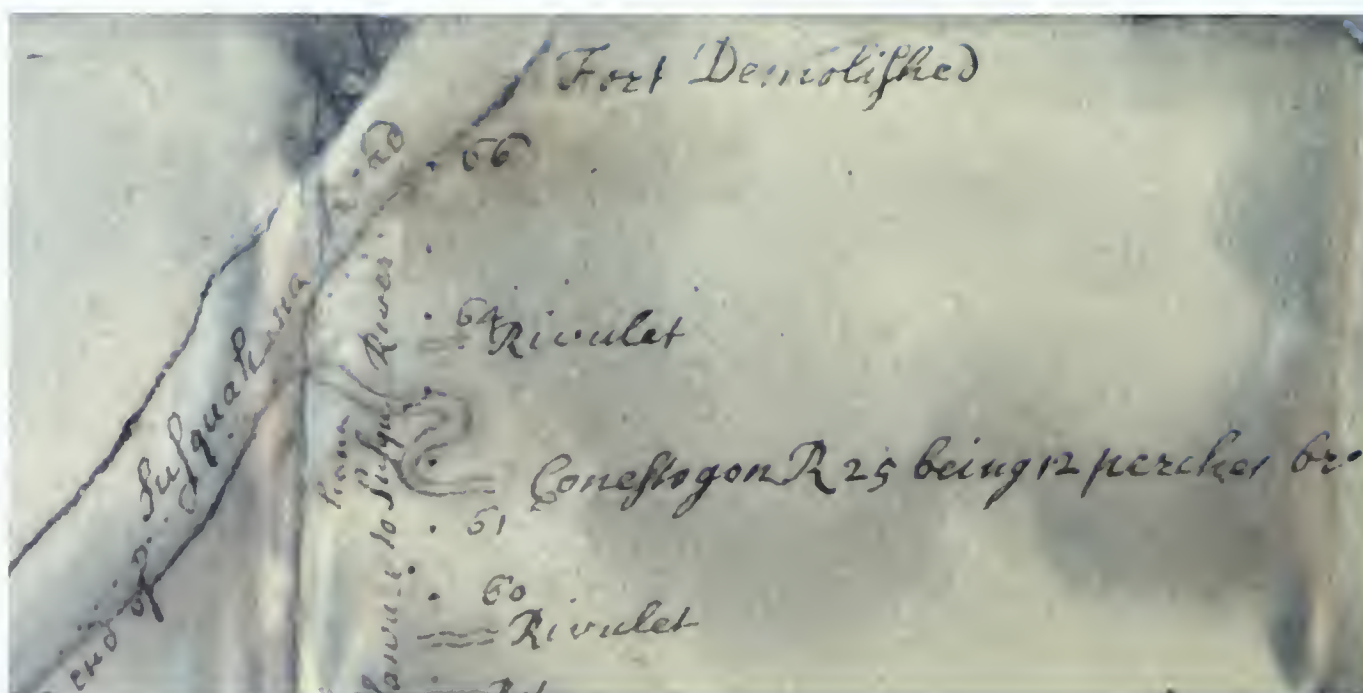
Hans Tillman had reported "the Susquehannocks and Senecas, about forty lusty young men, besides women and children, live at Conestoga." This was a tiny fraction of the substantial community that had once controlled the lower Susquehanna Valley.

The site of the new Conestoga Indian town emerged as an important trading center frequently visited by William Penn's Provincial Secretary James Logan (1705, 1720, 1721, and 1722) and the Deputy Governors John Evans (1707 and 1708), Charles Gookin (1711), William Keith (1717 and 1721), and Patrick

Gordon (1728). The precise location of the Conestoga Indian tract within William Penn's Conestoga Manor is first depicted clearly in the 1717 survey prepared by Surveyor General Jacob Taylor. Nearby stood Logan's Store. In 1716, the first Conestoga wagons began transporting furs from the store along the old Conestoga Road to Market Street in Philadelphia. The route closely followed much of that depicted in the Chambers map. A final Deed of Release dated September

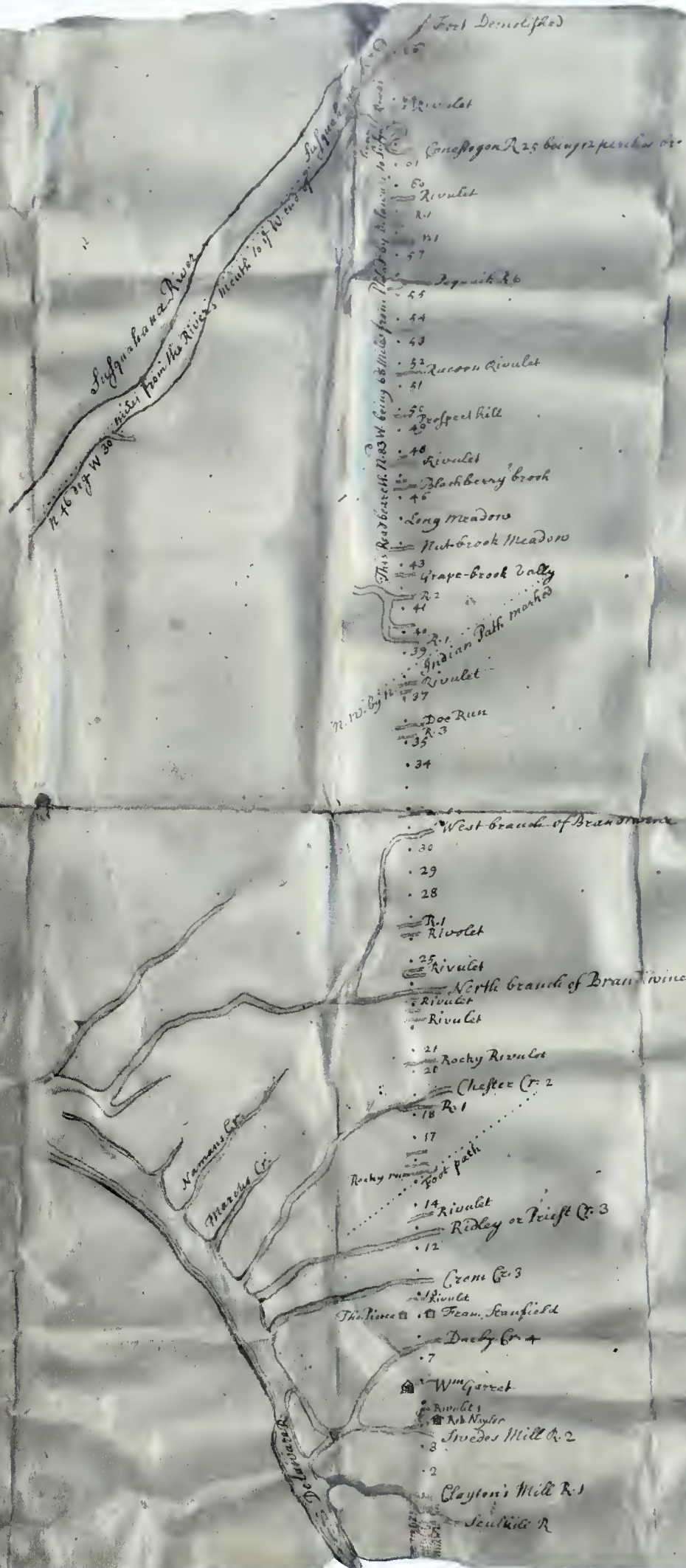
17, 1718, by the Lenni Lenape released any remaining interest the Lenni Lenape may have possessed to the lands in the same region. Despite William Penn's scrupulous efforts to obtain legal title from native owners of all of the lands he purchased in Pennsylvania, after his death in 1718 his heirs proved disinclined to follow the spirit of his example.

Little was known by most Englishmen about this vast region at the time the original purchase was made.



► Benjamin Chambers' Survey Map, [ca. 1688–89], Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State, Basic Documents of Pennsylvania Including Proprietary Charters and Deeds, Indian Deeds, and State Constitutions.

◄ Detail of Benjamin Chambers' Survey Map, (see caption above).



To the Honourable. Patrick Gordon Esq Governor
of the West and Superior in Delaware U.S. Council —

The Petition of the Inhabitants of the County of ...
that by Reason of the great Distance we live from the County ...
Office, kept, The arm of Justice is weakened, The benefit of many good & ...
person who has Occasion to apply to them, put to great and Burden ...
boldly Infract our parts (Counting themselves beyond the Reach of Law) to the ...
the Inhabitants, it being almost Impossible to take & Secure Such ...
placed as not one in Twenty or thirty Miles, & Assistance Difficult to ...
who would freely serve ^{Castles} & others by want of ready Cash, to bear of ...
to the County Jail And as we are Mostly New Settlers far from a ...
Society Mostly by way of Barber Money cannot be supposed plenty ...
to Recover our just Debt, the trouble and Expence of Travelling to ...
bringing Evidence (when necessary) Attending Two or three Courts, the ...
hundred Miles, besides the loss of much time, All which being a ready ...
Small sum more detrimental than the loss of it, and is every Great ...
forty Shilling which cannot be recovered without an Execution The ...
it would Acquire if the party be sent to Jail, & taken from his Friends ...
servants & suspicious persons who often come this way to hide among ...
are seldom taken up, The Reward for Runaways not Answering the ...
they can make proof of their Claims, Our high ways are unrepaid, ...
they are wanted nor can our Taxes be as Regular, Paid or our Grievances ...
Distance to the nearest place of Appeal is at least fifty Miles, And ...
(if that) Endured in many years within the Circle of five hundred families ...
the like nature, & from the same Cause which may Occur to you on a ...
Consideration, Hoping we are his Majesties Loyal Subjects, And Justly ...

1729

In early 1729, settlers living in the western part of Chester County sought to create a new county having a county seat more conveniently located to their settlements. With this petition to Deputy Governor Patrick Gordon and the members of the Provincial Council, the inhabitants of the “upper part of the County of Chester” presented their concerns on prevailing conditions in the western part of their county. The great distance from the existing county seat created conditions whereby the settlers complained of thieves, vagabonds, and ill people who boldly infested their parts. The absence of township divisions, the inadequacy of the few existing roads and bridges, and the failure to uniformly enforce the collection of taxes or enforce the provincial laws were endemic throughout this part of western Chester County at the time. For these reasons, the inhabitants of what was to become Lancaster County appealed to the governor and his council to subdivide Chester County and establish a new county. On May 10, 1729, the petitioners got their wish as Lancaster County was officially established and became the first county separate from the original three Pennsylvania counties of Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia. For more than twenty years after its creation, the newly formed Lancaster County encompassed a vast expanse of land defined as “all the lands northward of Octorara Creek and westward of a line of marked trees running from the north branch of the said Octorara Creek northeasterly to the river Schuylkill” and extended as far as the limits of the province. Many counties along the southern and western borders of present-day Pennsylvania can trace their parentage back to Lancaster County.

According to tradition, Lancaster County owes its name to John Wright, a Chester County assemblyman and one of the signers of the petition, who was a native of Lancashire, England. He had migrated to Pennsylvania in 1714 and acquired his first land holdings in Chester Township near the Delaware River in 1715. In 1726, he purchased 150 acres of land next to a Shawnee Indian town that stood along Shawnee Run on the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River at the present-day site of Columbia. Here he built a two-story log home where he lived with his daughter, Susanna Wright. In 1728 he surveyed an additional 302 acres on the western shore of the Susquehanna River to serve as a landing for a ferry. Though the land on the western shore could not be patented until after the Indians legally surrendered their rights, in 1733 the proprietors granted him a patent to operate a ferry at this place. John Wright was reelected to serve in the Assembly for Lancaster County, and became the first president judge of Lancaster County Court. The first court sessions were held in 1729 at Postlewaite’s Tavern, located on the north side of the Conestoga Road several miles east of the Conestoga Creek. The first trial was that of Morris Cannady who was convicted of stealing £147 from Daniel Cookson, a mill owner living on Pequea Creek. Unable to pay the fine and restitution imposed by the court, Cannady received twenty-one lashes on his bare back, was imprisoned for a year, and then sold into servitude for six months.

The reasons expressed by the petitioners establishing Lancaster County emerge as recurring themes in the settlement of Pennsylvania throughout the rest of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. As the population expanded and spread westward into more sparsely populated areas, the need for the subdivision of counties and more conveniently located county seats kept reemerging. The establishment of a new county courthouse brought stability and the rule of law to previously unruly settlements, thereby providing the inhabitants with both political representation and a new sense of comfort and security.

◀ *Detail from the Petition to establish Lancaster County, February 6, 1729, iron gall ink on paper. Record Group 21, Records of the Proprietary Government, Papers of the Provincial Council, Executive Correspondence.*



"A map of Pennsylvania and the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, showing the temporary limits of the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania and Maryland fixed according to an order of His Majesty in Council dated 25th Day of May in the Year 1738, Surveyed in the Year 1739." Record Group 17, Records of the Land Office, Map Collection.

This map illustrates both the temporary 1739 Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary as well as the circular boundary between Chester County and Newcastle County originally run by Isaac Taylor and Thomas Pierson in 1701. In 1703 the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex set up their own assembly, and this boundary between Chester County and Newcastle County became the boundary between Pennsylvania and Delaware. The original charter granted by Charles II had specified that the province of Pennsylvania was to be bounded “on the South by a Circle drawne [*sic*] at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a Straight Line Westward to the Limit of Longitude above mentioned (five degrees). . . .”

Unfortunately for the surveyors charged with actually surveying this boundary, a circle so drawn never crosses the fortieth parallel. When Isaac Taylor and Thomas Pierson first surveyed this circle in 1701 using a chain and compass, the first survey made the radius of the circle nearly thirteen miles, however, and located the western limit clearly inside territory belonging to Maryland. This map illustrates this earliest survey of the circle that was not resurveyed until 1763 when Philadelphia astronomer David Rittenhouse reduced the radius of the circle to just over twelve miles. Again resurveyed by Lieutenant-Colonel J.D. Graham in 1849 and 1850, a final settlement was made by Captain W.C. Hodgkins in 1892.

If that portion of the language in the Charter from Charles II to William Penn specifying the fortieth parallel as the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary had been enforced, the land on which the city of Philadelphia was built would have been in Maryland. The Pennsylvania-Maryland border dispute arose the moment Maryland's Lord Baltimore was first notified of the Penn grant on April 2, 1681. William Penn met several times with Lord Baltimore in 1682 and 1683 in fruitless efforts to achieve an amicable accommodation. The situation grew more contentious as settlers began to move west into the disputed region so that by 1718 Pennsylvania Deputy Governor William Keith found it necessary to meet with Maryland Deputy Governor John Hart in yet another fruitless effort to resolve disputed land titles at Nottingham. By 1736, the dispute among

settlers occupying lands to the west of the Susquehanna River erupted into Cresap's War.

Maryland Governor Samuel Ogle had granted to Maryland carpenter Thomas Cresap land along the Susquehanna River near the fortieth parallel of latitude at the present day site of Long Level in York County in exchange for enforcing Maryland's claims in the disputed region. Cresap and his posse expelled several Pennsylvanians from their land west of the Susquehanna River. Several German settlers who were coerced by Cresap into paying for their land a second time petitioned the Pennsylvania Assembly for relief through Assemblyman Samuel Blunston. When the Pennsylvania Assembly asked Governor Ogle to suppress Cresap's harassment of Pennsylvania settlers, Governor Ogle responded by dispatching three hundred Maryland militiamen under Captain Nathaniel Rigby to assist Cresap's men in dispossessing German farmers who settled in the region under licenses granted by Pennsylvania. The militia was also instructed to proceed to Wright's Ferry and arrest Pennsylvania Assemblyman John Wright who was active in enforcing Pennsylvania's interests in the region. As news of the plot spread, one hundred and fifty Pennsylvanians assembled at Wright's Ferry to repel a possible assault from Maryland. On November 13, 1736, a small contingent of Pennsylvanians led by the Lancaster County Sheriff Samuel Smith arrested Cresap for the murder of one Knowles Daunt. During the course of the arrest, the sheriff's men set Cresap's blockhouse on fire and burned it to the ground. Governor Ogle, protesting both Cresap's arrest and the destruction of his property by the Lancaster sheriff, responded by enlisting Charles Higgenbotham to recruit a Scots-Irish militia to expel by force of arms any German farmers found living west of the Susquehanna River. After the death of Pennsylvania Deputy Governor Patrick Gordon in 1736, Acting Deputy Governor James Logan denounced Governor Ogle for dispossessing six German families from their homes on the western side of the Susquehanna and called on the Pennsylvania Assembly to create a standing military force to defend the western settlements.

Higgenbotham's raids gradually declined in frequency as a result of continuing negotiations between the two colonies and in 1738, King George II finally intervened, ordering the respective governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland to suppress further

violence until a final adjustment of the boundary line could be made. By 1739, relative peace was restored when this temporary line was run. The line was defined as beginning fifteen and one-quarter miles south of a line of latitude commencing on the southernmost limit of Philadelphia and extending as far “as the top of the Western Hill of a range of hills called the Kittochtiny Hills, distant from the place of Beginning about eighty-eight Statute Miles,” then the westernmost extent to which land had been purchased from the Indians. In reality, this map shows that on the west side of the Susquehanna River, the distance to the surveyed southern boundary was only fourteen and three-quarters miles south of the parallel drawn from the southernmost limit of Philadelphia. This survey, though it continued to be disputed by the heirs of Lord Baltimore, stood until a new agreement was reached between the Penn and the Baltimore families in 1760 that resulted in the survey of the Mason-Dixon Line between 1763 and 1767.

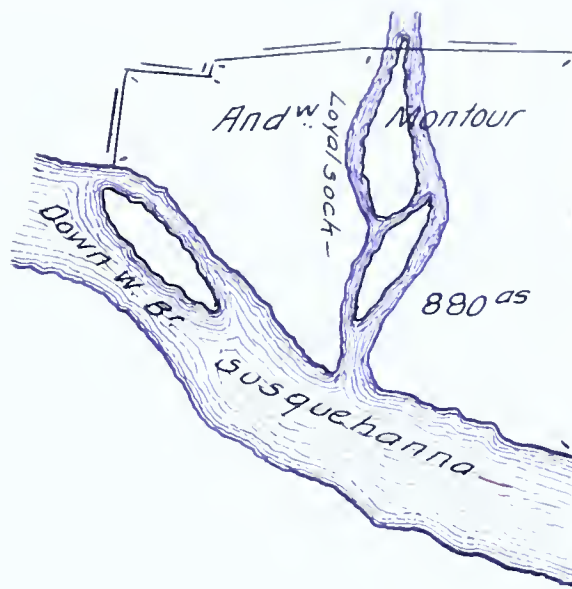
*If language in
the original Charter
specifying the
fortieth parallel as
the Pennsylvania-Maryland
boundary had been enforced,
the land on which
Philadelphia was built would
have been in Maryland.*

1769

In 1768 a vast area of land called the New Purchase became available for English settlement. Part of a broader agreement negotiated with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, the lands encompassed by the New Purchase were ideally situated to provide Pennsylvanians improved access to the lucrative Indian fur trade in the Illinois country. The proprietors particularly encouraged Pennsylvanians to occupy the upper Susquehanna in order to prevent the Connecticut-based Susquehanna Company from settling Connecticut residents within territory claimed by Pennsylvania. (The ensuing border dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania resulted in the outbreak of three "Yankee-Pennamite Wars" between 1769 and 1771.)

This original survey depicts the 880-acre reserve tract within the New Purchase granted to Andrew Montour at the mouth of the Loyalsock Creek on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River where the Indian town Ostanwakin once stood, and where Montoursville stands today. Andrew Montour was the son of Oneida chief Currendawanah, who was killed by the Catawbans in 1729, and the famous Madame d'Isabelle Montour who died while living somewhere along the West Branch about 1753. The remarkable Madame Montour was of mixed Seneca and French parentage, her father M. Montour having migrated to French Canada in 1665. In 1694 a Mohawk war party severely wounded her father and captured her near Fort Lamotte on Lake Champlain when she was just ten years of age. Adopted into the Mohawk tribe, she subsequently distinguished herself as a valued interpreter for the Iroquois confederacy at a conference held at Albany on August 24, 1711. She settled at Ostanwakin about 1727, served as an interpreter at the Iroquois council with Pennsylvania Deputy Governor Patrick Gordon in that same year, and was a distinguished guest at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744.

Madame Montour was the mother of French Margaret who presided over French Margaret's Town that stood where the Lycoming Creek empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna. French Margaret was believed to be the mother of Queen Esther who resided at Sheshequin, and whose name has



▲ Copied Survey for Montour's Reserve, Lycoming County Application No. 940 dated April 3, 1769 for John Campbell and recorded September 23, 1829. Record Group 17, Records of the Land Office, Copied Surveys.

become indelibly associated with the July 3, 1778, Wyoming Massacre of three hundred soldiers commanded by Colonel Zebulon Butler. During Madame Montour's lifetime, Ostanwakin was an important site visited by Indian traders, Moravian missionaries and by Indian negotiator Conrad Weiser on his frequent sojourns through the Alleghenies.

Andrew Montour was a valued negotiator on behalf of Conrad Weiser, George Croghan, and Sir William Johnson. Upon returning from the Ohio country in 1748, Andrew Montour settled with his Delaware and Conoy wives along the

Conodoguinet Creek in what became Cumberland County. In 1752, he removed to Sherman's Creek below the Juniata River but, much to his chagrin, the Iroquois sold the region where this tract was located to Pennsylvania on July 6, 1754. As a reward for his French and Indian War service he was nonetheless granted a warrant for 1,500 acres in Sackson's Cove on August 3, 1761. The 880-acre grant at Ostanwakin shown here was also surveyed for Andrew Montour in 1769. Though a return of survey for Andrew Montour's Reserve was made on January 9, 1770, this land was not patented until 1785, by which time Andrew Montour had sold out his interest in the property on August 12, 1771, to Robert Lettes Hooper. Hooper sold out his interest on February 27, 1773, to Joseph Spear who conveyed his interest to James Wilson on June 26, 1777, who in turn conveyed his interest to Mary Norris. The very next day, Mary Norris conveyed an interest in one moiety thereof to Peter Zachary Lloyd. The patent recorded in Patent Book P-3, page 416 was granted to Mary Norris and Peter Zachary Lloyd on June 17, 1785.

Such frequent changes in ownership of tracts of land prior to the granting of a patent were not uncommon. The normal process of acquiring land in Pennsylvania usually began with making an application for a warrant. The warrant served as an order to survey a particular parcel of land. A survey was then conducted on site and the survey was sent to the office of the surveyor general where the survey was compared with the description contained in



Survey for Montour's Reserve made "By virtue of an order of survey dated the twenty-ninth day of October, 1768, surveyed the third Day of November 1769 unto Andrew Montour the above described tract of Land situated on Loyalsock Creek (Stonehanger) and the West Branch of the River Susquehanna in the County of Berks [now Lycoming County], containing eight hundred and eighty acres and allowance of Six per cent." Record Group 17, Records of the Land Office, Original Surveys

By Virtue of an Order of Survey dated the 29th Day of October 1768 -
 Surveyed the third Day of November 1769, unto Andrew Montour,
 the above described Tract of Land situate on Loyalsock Creek,
 (Stonehanger) & the West Branch of the River Susquehanna
 in the County of Berks, containing eight hundred eighty
 Acres & Allowance of Six per Cent.
 J. W. Sullivan

the warrant, and if determined to be in compliance, a return of survey was prepared that contained a written description of the metes and bounds shown on the survey. After all fees were paid, a patent was granted to the purchaser that contained language taken from the return of survey in defining the boundaries of the tract. The Commissioners of Property, and after 1782 the Board of Property, would hear cases of disputes arising as a result of conflicting claims to the same parcel or overlapping surveys.

On April 3, 1769, in Application No. 940, John Campbell

applied for three hundred acres on the "east side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River above Loyalsock Creek at the old Indian town" that was determined to have fallen within the tract already surveyed for the Montour Reserve. The color-tinted copied survey is one of six copied surveys relating to the Montour Reserve tract. Note that from 1752 the region where this tract is located was part of Berks County, became part of Northumberland County in 1772, and has been encompassed by Lycoming County since 1795.

As settlers moved into the western part of Pennsylvania after the Revolutionary War, the increase in commerce, travel and communication necessitated constructing improved roads through the region. Recognizing the need for good roads, on April 13, 1791, the General Assembly passed an act “to provide for the opening and improving sundry navigable waters and roads,” including a “road from Bedford crossing Youghiogeny, at or near the Great Falls, to the west side of the Laurel Hill.” The new road was “designed not only to open a direct communication between the Counties of Fayette & Washington, and the Eastern parts of the State, but also to connect the Waters of Susquehannah (by the Ray’s town branch of Juniata) & those of Monongahela & Youghiogeny.”

Some time after the publication of the act—probably later in 1791—residents of Milford Township, Bedford County (now Somerset County) petitioned the General Assembly “that the Said Way May be Viewd by Some Proper disinterested [*sic*] Persons And Not be discouraged from Prosecuteing [*sic*] the Said New Road being Persuaded it will be far the Nearest and best Road to the Nearest and best Navigation Ever yet Made Use of or that Perhaps will Ever be found into the Western Country And that Will Lessen the Price of Carriage there Perhaps One half.” Accompanying the memorial was “a Plann of the Said Road and the other old Roads Which from our Personall knowledge of the Country we believe to be Very Impartially done And so Nearly Correct As to Give the farther Necessary Information.” The “Plann,” (p. 84) in addition to noting existing roads and the related geography, also contains such comments on the land as “PINY VALLEY . . . No Corne will Come to Any Perfection this Valley Lays Very high and no Inhabitants of Any Account.” According to this memorial, the map had been prepared by “one of Your Petitioners.” Evidence in the Internal Improvements File suggests that the cartographer was Hermon Husband, a colorful local resident who had “viewed . . . a considerable part of [the area].”

In a letter to Governor Thomas Mifflin dated January 1, 1793, Husband described the wilderness through which the road would pass:

*As most or all of the first Roads into the Western Country are on the Wrong Ground which is oweing Not only to Privite Enterest [*sic*] in the first Laying of them out . . . but also for want of the Countrys being Explored and fully known the Mountanious Woods being So thick for miles together that a Man Cant See*

what Sort of Ground he Carries[?] with him Past Six or ten Rods on Each Side Clambering over fallen timber Run up with Briers and thorns that Needs both himself and horse to be harnished[?] with Leather.

Husband himself was a well-traveled and interesting character. Born into an Anglican family in Cecil County, Maryland in 1724, he later joined the Society of Friends (Quakers) and moved to North Carolina in 1762. There he associated with the Regulator movement that sought political and economic reforms to the provincial government and managed to escape from North Carolina shortly before their defeat in 1770. Declared a traitor by Governor William Tryon of that colony, he fled northward into Maryland and Pennsylvania, eventually settling with his family near present-day Somerset. Husband served in the Pennsylvania General Assembly in 1777–78 and in 1789–90, opposed the federal Constitution, and strongly supported the Whiskey Rebellion. In connection with the latter, he was arrested in October 1794 and sent to Philadelphia to stand trial for treason. The grand jury failed to indict him but he nonetheless died there in 1795 while waiting for his wife. A state historical marker stands along Route 31 near his home in Somerset County.

Husband was enamored with radical millennialist ideas and in 1779, while hiking in the Alleghenies, he had “a vision of the New Jerusalem rising west of the mountains,” inspiring him “to interpret passages in the biblical book of Ezekiel as prophesying those constitutional reforms necessary to usher in the millennium.” Fayette County resident and road viewer John Ballodet who encountered Husband in November 1793 recorded in his journal:

. . . the Allagany philosopher (for so his wife informed me he was) . . . as far as it relates to his garments, seems to be of the Cynic order, his face sunk between two large locks of matted black hair, which do not appear to be ever disturbed by a comb, his clothes disorderly & unbuttoned & his whole person uncouth & extraordinary. He wants the road by his house, & which is common he covers his selfish & private views, by specious reasons of public conveniency. . . .

The Allegany mountains in his opinion, are nothing else than one of the four sides of the city spoken of by Ezekiel, the three other sides are as he supposes a ridge of mountains running at right angle westerly by N. till turning square Northwardly they run across the West river which breaks through them &

thence turning Eastwardly they run in that direction till they strike the Allegany on the N., The West River, Mississippi, Bourbon River & St. Laurence river are the four rivers mentioned by the prophet &c. Every circumstance of the vision is in his opinion realized in this our continent. . . .

The space contained within the four mountainous walls, above mentioned, was the Garden of Eden, theatre of creation, from which a persecuting spirit drove Adam & Eve & pursue[d] Westerly till he left them in Asia, tired of the race I suppose,

where they populated & left their posterity come in again from the East to those formerly happy mansions, & our federal city will once be built in the middle of them.

A notation on the western end of this "Plann of the New State Road" reflects Husband's millennial views where he wrote that the valley west of Chestnut Ridge was "Called by a Certain Ancient Author of Great Repute among Jews Christians and Turks *The Valley of the Mountain* and by an other one is described to be twelve thousand fields Wedth in Length and Breadth."



Harman Husband's Walking Map, or "A Plann of the New State Road Petitioned for By the Inhabitants of Milford Township Bedford & Yohogenny Road," ca. 1791, 24" x 40 1/2", Bedford to Pittsburgh (Harman Husband's Papers), Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State, Internal Improvements File.



The acquisition of the Erie Triangle was the last major alteration in the state's boundaries, and also represents the last purchase of lands from Native Americans that became part of the state. It was also the only major addition to state territory not located within the limits derived from Pennsylvania's 1681 Charter from King Charles II. On March 1, 1781, New York unilaterally offered to cede to the United States all of its lands lying west of a meridian projected south from the most western bend on the shore of Lake Ontario, unless the point twenty miles west of the most western bend in the Niagara River should prove to be further west than the Lake Ontario point, in which case the Niagara River plus twenty miles would be the meridian point. Congress accepted these awkwardly worded terms on October 29, 1782. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, on October 22, 1784, the Iroquois League surrendered to the United States all land west of Buffalo Creek and on April 19, 1785, Massachusetts also surrendered to the United States any claims it held to lands west of New York.

Pennsylvania's western boundary extending as far north as Lake Erie was established in 1786 and its northern boundary was defined as the forty-second parallel on October 29, 1787. Contemporary observers soon agreed that the resulting short four-mile section of Lake Erie shoreline that thereby formed the northwest corner of the state was inadequate to meet future water transportation needs. As a result, Pennsylvania Congressman William Irvine introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives on February 25, 1788, permitting Pennsylvania to purchase from the United States the triangle formed between the point where Pennsylvania's northern border intersected Lake Erie and whatever meridian of longitude was found to be New York's western boundary. Pennsylvania's General Assembly ordered negotiations to begin, and on June 6, 1788, Congress resolved that Pennsylvania could purchase the Triangle lands at seventy-five cents per acre, provided the area was accurately measured by survey and that any claims to the area by Native Americans were satisfied. On September 4, 1788, Congress vested jurisdiction over the Erie Triangle with Pennsylvania.

At a conference convened by the United States and the

Iroquois at Fort Harmar in Ohio on January 9, 1789, the United States paid Seneca Chief Cornplanter \$1,200 for this land. Pennsylvania paid him an additional \$2,000 to sign a deed surrendering the claims of all the Iroquois to the Erie Triangle. The Triangle was assumed to be about two hundred thousand acres, and Pennsylvania's payment was calculated at one cent per acre. Cornplanter was, however, the leader of only one faction within the Seneca nation. In 1791, to reward Cornplanter for supporting the sale and for pretending to represent all of the Iroquois, Pennsylvania gave Cornplanter several personal gifts of land in northwestern Pennsylvania, a total of 1,500 acres that came to be known as the Cornplanter Reservation. In order to placate other factions among the Seneca, on February 3, 1791, Pennsylvania obtained another deed to the Triangle, signed by Cornplanter and two other Seneca leaders, for \$800. Andrew Ellicott (1754–1820), who would later conduct the survey of the District of Columbia, was employed to survey the Triangle. Ellicott's survey map (p. 86) includes copies of the two plaques engraved by Ellicott's brother, Benjamin, on the stone marking the meridian point on Lake Erie's shore. The date on the upper plaque, August 20, 1790, was the date the stone was erected. The survey map on page 86 is a ca. 1815 copy drawn in the Indian Deed Book in the Records of the Department of State.

Once surveyed, the precise area of the Triangle was found to be 202,187 acres. On April 18, 1791, the Pennsylvania legislature authorized Governor Thomas Mifflin to make the purchase for \$151,640.25. The payment took the form of forgiveness of defaulted interest on U.S. bonds held by Pennsylvania for expenditures made during the Revolutionary War. On March 3, 1792, President George Washington and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson signed a patent deed for the Triangle, though President Washington specified that occupation of Presque Isle be postponed until the threat from a hostile Native American confederation in the Northwest Territory was removed. The defeat of this confederation at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794, eliminated this obstacle. The Erie Triangle was originally made part of Allegheny County until Erie County was created in 1800.

In the name of the United States.

To all to whom these presents shall come.

Whereas by an Act of Congress entitled "An Act for carrying into effect a contract between the United States and the State of Pennsylvania" it was provided that for duly conveying to the said State a certain tract of Land the right to the government and Jurisdiction whereof was relinquished to the said State by Resolution of Congress of the sixth day of September in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, and is having the right of soil has been sold by virtue of a previous Resolution of Congress of the sixth day of June in the said year the President of the United States be authorized on fulfillment of the terms stipulated on the part of the said State to issue letters patent in the name and under the Seal of the United States granting and conveying to the said State forever the said tract of land as the same was ascertained by a survey made in pursuance of the Resolution of Congress of the sixth of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight. Now Know Ye that inasmuch as it appears by a certificate from the Comptroller of the Treasury that the terms stipulated on the part of the said State concerning the tract of Land aforesaid have been fulfilled according to the true intent and meaning of the said contract I do by these presents in pursuance of the above recited Act of Congress grant and convey to the said State of Pennsylvania forever the said tract of land as the same was ascertained by the survey aforesaid a copy whereof is herewith annexed.

In Testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made Patent and have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed at Philadelphia this third day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety two and of the Independence of America the sixteenth

By the President

G. Washington

W. Jefferson

Recorded in the Office for Recording of Deeds &c for the City & County of Philadelphia in Lead Book No 51 Page 107

Witness my hand and Seal of Office this 2^d day of April 1792

John B. Swann & R



I do hereby certify that the above is an accurate Map of the Territory annexed to the State of Pennsylvania

Signed Andrew Ellicott

Copy

▲ Copy of Andrew Ellicott Survey of Erie Triangle. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State, Indian Deed Book.

1895



Photograph, Camelback Bridge over the Susquehanna River between Cumberland County and Harrisburg, ca.1895, Manuscript Group 432, Rathmell Covered Bridge Collection.

thirty and perhaps forty years, if well covered. You will excuse me in saying that I think it would be sporting with property, to suffer that beautiful piece of architecture . . . which has been built at so great expense and danger, to fall into ruins in ten to twelve years!

The covered bridge was an important development in nineteenth century transportation, offering an alternative to the costly and difficult construction of stone bridges having a bed that suffered constant exposure to the elements and because of the scarcity of good building stone in some parts of the state. The roof of the covered bridge ensured a sturdy, long-lasting structure, protecting the bridge's weight-bearing members from the deterioration caused by alternating exposure to rain, snow and the heat of the sun.

The Schuylkill Permanent Bridge, one of America's first well-documented covered bridges, was designed and erected across the Schuylkill River by Timothy Palmer on the site presently occupied by Philadelphia's Market Street Bridge. Palmer, supported by company president Richard Peters, justified the high cost of covering the bridge to the stockholders of the company:

I bring before you the subject of covering the bridge. . . . From the time of the first idea of a wooden superstructure, I have never wavered in my opinion of the indispensable necessity of the cover [Uncovered bridges] will not last for more than ten or twelve years, to be safe for heavy carriages to pass over. The bridge near Newburyport [Mass.], over the Merrimack, was built in the year 1792. It was repaired in the year 1802. The bridge at Andover, across the same river, was built in 1793. It was rebuilt in 1803. Piscataqua bridge, near Portsmouth [N.H.] was built in 1794. . . . I have lately been informed that it was much decayed, and is to be repaired next season . . . And it is sincerely my opinion, that the Schuylkill bridge will last

The bridge was completed in 1804, and opened to traffic in 1805, the same year in which the roofing was added.

Built by Theodore Burr, the two-part, multi-arched Camelback Bridge at Harrisburg that was completed in 1817 stood until 1903. The photograph *above*, depicts the western portion of the tandem bridge spanning the Susquehanna River between Harrisburg's City Island and Lemoyne. After its eastern counterpart was destroyed three times by flood and fire between 1846 and 1902, both portions of this bridge were dismantled. Manuscript Group 432, the Rathmell Covered Bridge Collection, contains several hundred black-and-white images of covered bridges throughout Pennsylvania taken or collected in the 1950s by James and Virginia Rathmell of Lansdale.

The photograph on page 89 shows the reinforced Burr arch trusses in the interior of the western portion of the Camelback Bridge at Harrisburg. Recalling this bridge in 1841, Charles Dickens wrote:

We crossed the Susquehanna river by a wooden bridge, roofed and covered on all sides, and nearly a mile in length. It was profoundly dark, perplexed with great beams, crossing and recrossing at every possible angle, and through the broad chinks and crevices in the floor the rapid river gleamed far down below like a legion of eyes. We had no lamps, and as the horses stumbled

and floundered through the place towards the distant speck of dying light it seemed interminable. I really could not at first persuade myself, as we rumbled heavily on filling the bridge with hollow noises, and as I held down my head to save it from the rafters above, that I was not in a painful dream, for I have often dreamed of toiling through such places and as often argued, even at the time, "this cannot be reality."

Pennsylvania also claims the distinction of having been the site of the longest single-span wooden-arch bridge ever constructed. The 360-foot McCall's Ferry covered bridge was erected in 1815 and spanned the Susquehanna River between Lancaster County and York County until it was swept away by an ice jam only three years later. Theodore Burr designed this bridge, as well as many others constructed in the state, using his Burr truss system of reinforced arches that he patented in 1804. Born in Torrington, Connecticut, by the time of his death in 1822 at age fifty-one, Burr had constructed more than forty-five bridges of various lengths and the Burr truss was being widely emulated by bridge builders across the nation. The Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society was established in 1959 to document, study and preserve Pennsylvania's covered wooden bridges.

The Town or lattice truss was designed and patented by Ithiel Town, a Connecticut architect, and was intended to be easily constructed by any competent carpenter. This latticework of crossing beams held together with wooden pins proved so strong and easy to build that it was later adapted for wooden and cast-iron railroad bridges. Seventeen Town truss bridges remain standing in Pennsylvania including the one *below*, in Adams County near the Eisenhower Farm historic site. This bridge is one hundred feet long and was built ca. 1854. According to the Burr Society records, it was used by Union troops during the Battle of Gettysburg, and on the night of July 3, 1863, the major portion of General Robert E. Lee's surviving troops retreated over this bridge after their defeat.

Once boasting over 1,500 covered bridges, by 1994 Pennsylvania still led the nation in the number of such surviving bridges with 215 still standing, down from over 300 in 1950. Burr trusses support the majority of the survivors in the Susquehanna watershed. Flood, neglect, arson, roadway improvements, and even tornadoes have been responsible for the gradual decline in the number of surviving covered bridges in Pennsylvania.

▼ *Photograph, (ca. 1960), Sauck Bridge, Adams County. Manuscript Group 31. Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society Records.*

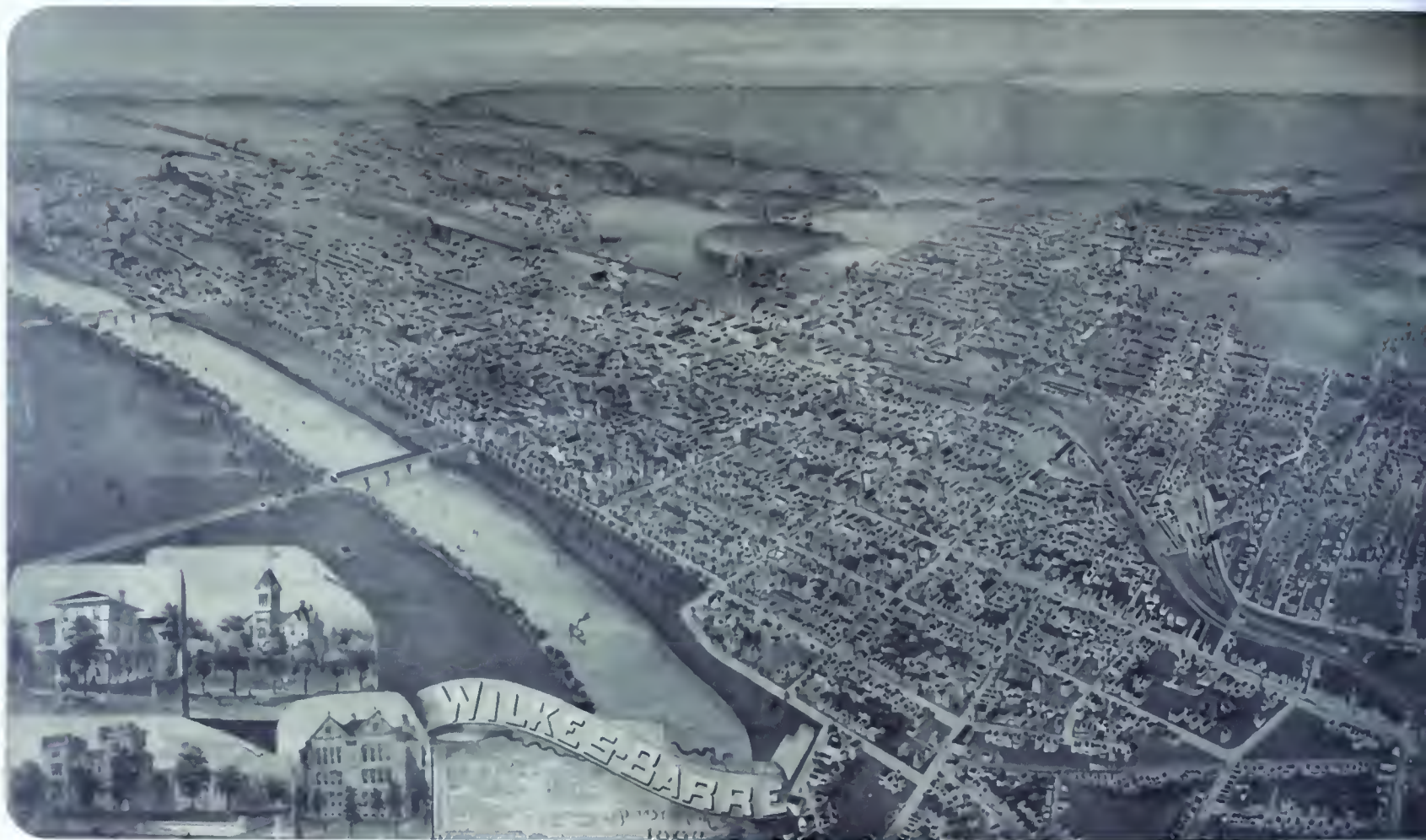


Covered Bridge near Eisenhower Home



▲ Photograph, Camelback Bridge over
Susquehanna River between Cumberland
County and Harrisburg. Manuscript
Group 214, Warren J. Harder Collection.

Once boasting over
fifteen hundred covered
bridges, by 1911
Pennsylvania still led the
nation in the number of
such surviving bridges.



"Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1899." Lithograph, drawn and published by T. M. Fowler, A.F. Downs, and James Moyer. 28" x 11". A typical example of his large format work. Manuscript Group 11, Map Collection.

Thaddæus Mortimer Fowler, (1842–1922) is hailed as the most prolific of all American city view makers. Of his over 400 views of United States cities, at least 240 are of Pennsylvania communities. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, America had a love affair with panoramic drawings of urban areas, known as town views. Some were made at ground level, or from a modest elevation, such as a hill or tall building, and often depicted a skyline. Others, made from an aerial perspective, were known as balloon views, aéro views, "birds-eye" views, and the like. These drawings were made from an imaginary oblique or right-angle aerial perspective, about two to three thousand feet in the air, as a flying bird might see the community. Oblique views revealed much more detail than a ground perspective because buildings hidden behind others were more easily seen and street patterns more discernible. Though scale was exaggerated, they were executed with amazing accuracy and attention to detail, down to the number of windows and doors on any given building. The views were printed, usually lithographed, and sold by subscription, often to local entrepreneurs pleased to have their place of business prominently depicted. They came to adorn the walls of late Victorian era homes and offices as a matter of civic pride as thousands of towns across North America posed for their portraits.

Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, Fowler got his start as a tintypist, photographing soldiers in various army camps during the Civil

War. In 1864 he went to work for his uncle, John Mortimer Fowler, a Madison, Wisconsin, photographer and later began an association with Albert Ruger, a Chicago town view artist, probably as a sales and subscription agent. For Ruger, Fowler traveled about the country in the postwar years, especially the Midwest, collecting subscriptions from local entrepreneurs and business leaders for views of their particular town. Between 1869 and 1875 Fowler held a partnership with Howard Heston Bailey, and later his brother Oakley Hoopes Bailey, sketching and publishing views of towns in Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York. His earliest Pennsylvania works were done at this time, including 1872 views of Altoona and Lebanon.

In 1880 he moved east to New Jersey, probably to exploit the northeast market for birds-eye views, as Ruger and other contemporaries dominated the Midwest. He finally settled in Morrisville, Pennsylvania in 1885. A town view artist, of course, had to travel to work, and Morrisville became a base of operations. Beginning in 1887 to about 1906, Fowler concentrated on views of Pennsylvania communities, though he is also known during this time to have drawn towns in Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Maryland, and other places. On many views dating from this period, and until his death, Fowler is listed as co-publisher with James B. Moyer, an entrepreneur from Myerstown, Lebanon County.

Fowler's method of enlisting subscriptions, drawing, and publishing views was essentially the same for each town. Advertisements would usually be placed in local newspapers announcing his arrival. He would locate at a nearby hotel or boarding house for the purpose of enticing local businesses to invest in the project. A subscription would ensure the patron's building a prominent place, or maybe a vignette inserted in the border of the completed view. Once enough capital was obtained, the artist then walked the streets, noting, sketching, and probably photographing as accurately as possible buildings, streets, parks, and other features. A typical day would be devoted to gathering information, and evenings would be spent in the hotel room perfecting the overall drawing, most often a pen or pencil sketch, gone over later with ink wash. The view would then be turned over to a lithographer, who would prepare the published version. The print would often be put through a press twice, the second time to add a bit of color, usually a grayish-green color to highlight fields and forests. The number of prints created would vary, depending on the number of subscribers. The cost per view varied between two and five dollars.

With promise of a commission from one town, or with a successfully completed view in hand, Fowler could then travel to neighboring communities and convince citizens that it was a matter of pride to have one prepared for them as well, thereby drumming up more business. He could spend several years working one region of the state at a time in order to minimize travel expenses. The time spent in any given area depended, upon the size of the towns. In this way, over the course of about twenty years, he traveled the state, making views of all major towns (except Philadelphia), and dozens of smaller ones. For example, he spent much of the 1890s in northwestern Pennsylvania, drawing Bradford, Clarion, Girardville, Ford City, Ellwood City, Clearfield, DuBois, and many others. By 1897, he was south, drawing Jeannette, Irwin, Turtle Creek, and Oakmont. Between 1900 and 1902, he was in southwestern Pennsylvania, visiting Belle Vernon, Brownsville, California, Glassport, Homestead, Monongahela City, and Pittsburgh.

By World War I, interest in birds-eye views waned. This is likely due to the halftone printing process which, though faster and cheaper than lithography, created a less sharp image. But probably the airplane, together with aerial photography, which could in reality easily attain the vantage point an artist could only imagine, sealed the fate of the birds-eye view. In February 1922, while at work on yet another drawing, Fowler slipped and fell on an icy sidewalk in Middletown, New York. He never recovered from this accident and died March 17. He is buried in Riverside Cemetery in Trenton, New Jersey. Toward the end of his life, Fowler mentioned in a letter to a relative the "unadulterated joy" he got from making views, a vibrant joy still evident today in each of his works. The majority of Fowler's lithographs at the State Archives are Pennsylvania duplicates from the Library of Congress transferred during the early 1970s. A few of these include some of his original renderings used as the basis for the engravings. Fowler's eye for detail and patience with this painstaking work can be appreciated in studying tiny details in his original drawing of Belle Vernon presented on the following pages. People, animals, and activities on Main Street are clearly delineated by a very thin nib pen, yet the entire work measures only fifteen by twenty-five inches.

► Overleaf: "Belle Vernon, Pennsylvania, 1902." Pen and Ink with color wash by T. M. Fowler, 15" x 25." Manuscript Group 11, Map Collection.



Morrisville, Pa.

Copyrighted By T.M.

References

1. Public Schools
2. Opera House
3. Hotel Kyle L.M. Kyle Prop.
4. " Birmingham McMahon & Simpson "
5. " Province C.W. Therkston "
6. East End Hotel J.A. Province "
7. Hotel Springer E.F. Springer
8. American Window Glass Co. Factory No 4.
9. Moore & Sinnott Distillery
10. Bell's Vernon Planing Mill Co.
11. Clipper Sails Co.
12. Electric Light & Power House
13. E.R.R. Station

BELLE



over Published by T.M.

EARNON, VIRGINIA.

- Churches*
- A. First Presbyterian Church
 - B. Christian Church
 - C. Methodist Episcopal Church
 - D. Free Baptist Church
 - E. A. M. E. Church

SUBJECT *Every man must wear goggles*
 LOCATION *Str 308+00*
 NOTES: *Dauphin Co*

NEGATIVE NO. *68*
 TR. ROUTE NO. *34*
 LEG. ROUTE NO.
 DATE *4-20-33*
 GUIDE NO. YR.



▲ "Every Man Must Wear Goggles.
 Dauphin Co. TR Route #34. 4.20/33."
 8" x 10" silver gelatin print mounted on
 paper card with captions. Record Group
 12. Records of the Department of
 Highways. Main File.

1933

A State Highway Department was created in 1903 to cooperate with the Commonwealth's political subdivisions in the improvement and maintenance of highways. Initially it served as a disbursing agency, primarily responsible for administering state grants for road improvements to local communities. Legislation passed in 1911 reorganized the department, providing for a road system to be maintained solely by the state, and for a highway network financed on both the state and local level. The Administrative Code of 1923 officially designated the agency's title as the Department of Highways, and assigned it exclusive jurisdiction over state highways and general supervisory powers over all roads financed, in whole or in part, by state funds. This agency was abolished in 1970 and replaced by the Department of Transportation, which is responsible for the administration of aviation, rail, and waterways transportation in the Commonwealth.

Governments have long recognized photography's potential for their own far-ranging needs. Staff photographers or contracted professionals are often hired by agencies to record and promote services performed according to their public mandate. Pennsylvania's earliest government photographers were usually staff having an avocational interest in the medium. This was the case, for example, with Dr. Joseph T. Rothrock, the director of the Division of Forestry and a trained biologist. Rothrock created a large number of images of outstanding tree specimens throughout the Commonwealth as early as 1888 and gave them to the agency.

The State Highway Department began using photography as early as 1908 to create before-and-after images demonstrating road improvement as a result of the grants they administered. In order to promote tourism in the Commonwealth, it produced scenic views designed to entice the public. Images were also produced for staff education and technical use. Prints were mounted on paper cards having a written identification, and filed by subject so as to be easily accessed by staff when needed. Negatives were arranged chronologically, each being assigned a sequential master number. The subject of every photograph was recorded in logbooks maintained by photographers, along with the date and

location of the scene. One particular group of photographs, largely comprising 8"x10" negatives, came to be called the "Main File" to distinguish it from other types of files, such as slides or 5"x7" prints. Negative #1 of the Main File, a view of a trucking accident in Perry County, was probably made on April 2, 1924.

The Department of Highways photographic unit grew as it began to perform jobs for other agencies as well, including portraiture of state officials, and especially work for the governor's office. It eventually added motion picture production, and later video, as part of its services. Governor Milton Shapp announced in a June 8, 1973, press release the centralization of all state agency photography laboratories, including the Highways unit, to create Commonwealth Photographic Services (CPS). The release further stated this move would realize an annual taxpayer savings of \$310,000. In 1985, to again consolidate and account for newer types of graphic reproduction, Governor Richard Thornburgh combined the Department of Education's video studio with CPS to create Commonwealth Media Services (CMS). CPS, and later CMS, continued to follow the Main File's original system, the master numbers now referring to individual projects for which there are many, rather than a single, negative. The Main File reached well over master number forty thousand by 1990 when it was stopped and supplanted by more topic-specific files managed by computer databases, rather than through logbooks. Main File photographs in the State Archives are therefore found numerically beginning under the Department of Highways, then sequentially continuing with the Department of General Services.

This particular 1933 example from the Main File, #6803, *Every Man Must Wear Goggles*, was made to demonstrate the importance of protective eyewear during road construction, especially in this case, workers breaking gravel. It was part of a series of images created for use in a highways employee safety training session. The unknown staff photographer here could not resist capturing the perspective of the roadbed construction extending ribbon-like into the background, with every single begoggled worker proudly, almost defiantly, facing the camera to dramatically illustrate the point.

Lancaster the 16th of Jan^y 1764

Agreeable to my promise to you I went on the 14th instant to take a view of the Blue Rock Farm and examine not only its present situation but how it hath been used since in the Occupation of Feal and Yeiter. I took with me Jacob Whittles and Michael Habersstick, and finding the clear Land divided into nine Fields we found them as follows Viz.

1st Field appears to contain about 14 Acres, of which about six Acres is new cleared Land on which Thomp is spread, the rest is in Stubble

1st Year Turnips were sowed in the six Acres

2^d and 3^d Years Thoms

1st Year Indian Corn planted on the residue

2^d Year Speltz and Barley

3^d Year Speltz and now in the Speltz Stubble

2^d Field appears to contain about 2.5 Acres - An Acre and an half of which is new cleared Ground on which was Thomp last Year the rest of it was Indian Corn

The 1st & 2^d Year this Field (except the new Ground) was Pastured

3^d Field appears to contain about 15 Acres which is now sowed with Winter Grain

1st Year this Field was plowed & sowed with Oats - in the Fall the Oat Stubble was plowed in & Winter Grain sown in it

2^d Year Winter Grain being cut, it was plowed properly three times & laid till, it was sown with the Winter Grain now in it

4th Field appears to contain about 8 Acres (being part of the Meadow) in this Field was Turnips this last Year - nothing else hath been in it.

5th Field appears to contain about 5 Acres now in Oat Stubble

1st Year Oats was sown in this Field - which being cut the Oat Stubble was plowed in & Wheat sowed in it

2^d Year the Wheat was taken off

3^d Year the Wheat Stubble being plowed in it was sowed with Oats, which was taken off & it is now in the Stubble

6th Field appears to contain about 2.5 Acres now in Oat Stubble & hath been used exactly as the last

7:

An Industrious People

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has remained a vital industry in Pennsylvania and a defining way of life for many Pennsylvanians through more than three centuries. The Lenni Lenape, Susquehannock, and Shawnee tribes living in the territory that became Pennsylvania had for centuries cultivated crops of maize, beans, peas, squash, and melons. Early European explorers noted that Indian villages, commonly situated on fertile riverside soil, were often surrounded by a belt of cropland occupying anywhere from twenty to two hundred acres. Within this cultivated area, typical family plots were normally about one to one-half acres in size, yielding up to sixty bushels of corn. Amongst cornstalks planted in mounds that stood five to six feet apart, beans were sown so that their vines could climb the stalks and squashes grew in the fertile soil in between the corn mounds.

The European settlers brought with them their own agricultural methods and they quickly adopted such native crops as maize and squash as well. Forced to adapt their European farming traditions to the new landscape and climate, the immigrants were also at first hampered by a lack of efficient transportation. Wheat, barley, rye, and oats nonetheless long remained

the principal crops of eastern Pennsylvania because they were well suited to the climate and in high demand in urban markets here and overseas. Pennsylvania also quickly emerged as a leading producer of flax and hemp to meet the demand for clothing and rope. The John Whitmer letter *opposite*, was written to inform an absentee owner of use and recent history of a parcel of land called Blue Rock Farm in Conestoga Manor, Lancaster County, to

determine whether the tenant farmers occupying the tract had made suitably good use of the property. He reports finding the land cleared and divided into nine fields, ranging in size from eight to twenty-five acres each. Crops and residue noted at the time of his visit included hemp, Indian corn, winter grain, meadow grass, oat stubble, turnips, and a small orchard. All of the fields had either just been cleared, or had seen rotations of different crops, including speltz and barley, in the preceding three years. Some clearing of trees

was still in process. Even so, Whitmer and his two companions concluded “that the land hath not been used as it ought to have been agreeable [to the owner].”

German farmers imported livestock that were already adapted to a similar climate and were the first to develop large herds of



▲ Farm fields in the Cumberland Valley from State Route 74 crossing through Waggoner's Gap atop Blue Mountain, ca. 1940s, color transparency. Record Group 12, Records of the Department of Highways, Photographic Unit's Slide File.

These censuses document the transformation of farming methods and farm life in an increasingly mechanized world by revealing the number of farms that had electricity, furnace heating, milking machines, gas engines, automobiles, telephones, and running water in the kitchen. In 1927, many of the farms in Annin Township did not have these amenities.

Agricultural shows and fairs dating back to the late seventeenth century reached their heyday in Pennsylvania between 1850 and 1870, allowing farmers to exchange new ideas on crops, farming techniques, and farm machinery. They played a prominent social, commercial, and educational role in the rural history of Pennsylvania.

The first statewide Farm Show was held in Harrisburg in January 1917. Known that year as the Pennsylvania Corn, Fruit, Vegetable, Dairy Products, and Wool Show, it featured exhibits of farming equipment and agricultural products. As the Farm Show grew in size and importance, bills were introduced in the General Assembly to establish a permanent site for the annual event. In 1931, the Main Exhibition Building opened as the first section of the Farm Show Complex that has continued to expand over the years. Since that first exposition in 1917, the Farm Show has become a Pennsylvania institution, and millions of visitors have enjoyed the agricultural displays, exhibits, and special events.



Pumpkin vines growing among shocks of drying cornstalks in Dauphin County, 1938. Record Group 12, Records of the Department of Highways. Main File of Black and White Prints and Negatives.



▲ *Pennsylvania Farm Show, main arena view of livestock parade, 1950. Record Group 1, Department of Agriculture. Press Office Photographs.*

▼ *Pennsylvania Farm Show, All Grand Champion Short Horn steer and owner ca. 1950. Record Group 1, Department of Agriculture. Press Office Photographs.*

Agriculture has remained a vital industry in Pennsylvania and a defining way of life for many Pennsylvanians through more than three centuries.



LUMBERING

Pennsylvania, or "Penn's Woods," is appropriately named considering the Commonwealth's vast original forests and "wooded" landscapes. Throughout the nineteenth century, lumber companies were quick to take advantage of this natural bounty. As a result, the populations of lumbering towns grew at a tremendous rate and this in turn led to a greater need for supplies and services. The rapid expansion of the lumber industry adversely affected the forests as sawmills, planing mills, home manufacturing, and related construction needs consumed and significantly reduced in size the once plentiful woodlands. The lumbering town of Williamsport in Lycoming County, for example, witnessed a population increase from about 1600 people in 1850 to roughly 16,000 by 1879. Other northern Pennsylvania communities experienced similar growth patterns in employment and business as a result of lumbering operations. Counties such as Potter, Elk, Cameron, Clearfield, and Tioga, among others, all represent areas that witnessed increased population growth and an inevitable decline in forest acreage.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the state's once pristine forests had been transformed into a depleted and scarred landscape. Poor agricultural practices, industrial encroachment, and "unscientific" forestry further aggravated the situation, resulting in widespread erosion. The Records of the Department of Forests and Waters (Record Group 6) contain numerous photographs depicting lumbering and lumbering towns, paper and chemical industries, sawmills, and both rail and horse-drawn transportation of logs. The negative effects of lumbering are also depicted such as sparsely wooded hillsides that were once home to dense and lush vegetation, images of forest fire damage, and abandoned lumber towns.

The creation of the Department of Forestry within the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture in 1895 helped bring much-needed change to the management of the state's forests. In addition to the establishment of scientific practices, the conservation movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought impetus to the recovery of the forests as part of a nationwide movement. Gifford Pinchot, who became a special



◀ Skidway of logs along the Allegheny River above Coudersport, Potter County, copied by H.B. Kirk from original supplied by W.W. Thompson, Coudersport, undated. Record Group 6, Records of the Department of Forests and Waters.



◀ *Destructive lumbering and forest damage at headwaters of Cedar Run, Tioga County, undated. Record Group 6, Records of the Department of Forests and Waters.*

forest agent for the Department of the Interior in 1897, became Chief Forester for the federal Department of Agriculture's Division of Forestry in 1898. In 1920, Governor William C. Sproul appointed Pinchot Pennsylvania State Forestry Commissioner. Pinchot later served as governor of Pennsylvania from 1923 to 1927. These changes benefited the state's forests in rebounding from the devastating effects of earlier poorly managed and often unethical practices. In addition to the photographs in Record Group 6, similar types of photographic evidence will be found in the Records of the Department of Commerce (Record Group 31) where images of forest recreation may be found including picnicking, camping, and hunting scenes; the Dock Family Papers (Manuscript Group 43) containing photographs of civic leader and conservationist Mira Lloyd Dock who was also a member of the Pennsylvania Forest Commission (1899–1911) and Joseph E. Rothrock, "The Father of Forestry" in Pennsylvania. The Records of the Department of Highways (Record Group 12) contain numerous scenic views including waterfalls, the roadside planting of trees, flowers, and similar types of scenes depicting the state's natural beauty.



▲ *Logs in the Susquehanna River near Williamsport, Lycoming County, 1923. Record Group 6, Records of the Department of Forests and Waters.*

THE ERA OF THE CHARCOAL IRON FURNACES

The production of iron and steel has been at the forefront of the Commonwealth's manufacturing exports for almost its entire history. The production of iron in Pennsylvania began in 1716, with the founding of Rutter's Forge on the Manatawny Creek near Pottstown. By 1776, Pennsylvania was recognized as the leading producer of iron in the Colonies, with over seventy ironworks in operation. Iron was, and still is, produced in structures known as "blast furnaces." The basic process of iron production in a blast furnace has changed little since colonial times. Until roughly 1820, three ingredients were used in the production of iron in America: charcoal, iron ore, and limestone. These three elements were dumped in measured quantities into the furnace stack, where they were heated to a temperature of three thousand degrees Fahrenheit. Once every twelve hours, the "cast" or "pig" iron was released or "tapped" from the furnace with an average furnace producing about three thousand pounds of iron per tap.



▲ *Cornwall Iron Furnace as it appeared around the time of the Civil War.*
Manuscript Group 23, Arthur Cecil Bining Collection.

From 1716 through 1850, the bulk of the iron production in Pennsylvania took place on "iron plantations." Such plantations had to be completely self-sustaining since they were located on rural tracts away from major towns and cities. Shown *above*, around the time of the Civil War, Cornwall Iron Furnace was founded in 1742 by Peter Grubb and remained in blast until 1883. This furnace complex is indicative of many of the early charcoal furnaces and was situated on one of the larger iron plantations in the Commonwealth. By the mid-nineteenth century, 9,669 acres of land provided timber to fuel Cornwall Furnace.

The very top of the furnace stack is visible protruding from the casting room that is located at the bottom left. In the casting room, the iron was released from the furnace and guided into molds impressed into the sand and clay floor. These castings were called "pigs," because they were arranged to look like a mother pig feeding her young piglets, hence the term "pig iron." The stack was made of stone and rose to a height of roughly thirty-one feet. It was built into the side of a hill, so the ingredients could be loaded directly into the top of the furnace. The building on the top of the hill was the charcoal barn, where the charcoal was stored until it was loaded into the furnace. The building in the middle of the image housed the water wheel, which powered the furnace's bellows that supplied sufficient oxygen to sustain combustion.

By the mid-nineteenth century, both anthracite and bituminous coal were being used instead of charcoal to fuel Pennsylvania's furnaces. Coal-powered furnaces could be built to a greater height, which greatly increased their output. These new furnaces were also being built out of brick or metal, instead of the stone masonry stack that predominated before 1850. Steam engines also replaced water wheels as the preferred method of powering the bellows, which were now blowing hot air instead of cold air into the furnaces. Gases that came out of the top of the furnace were reused to heat a system of boilers and the heated air was then pumped into the stack, which reduced fuel consumption and increased productivity in these new "hot blast" furnaces. All these new technological innovations helped Pennsylvania become the nation's leading iron-producing state by the eve of the Civil War, with the Commonwealth producing 58 percent of the nation's pig iron in 1860.

ANTHRACITE FURNACES

Furnaces powered by anthracite coal enjoyed a brief period of dominance in eastern Pennsylvania, from approximately 1850 through 1880. The Lehigh Crane Iron Company in Catasauqua operated the first successful anthracite furnace, putting it into blast on July 4, 1840. The furnace shown on page 104 *top*, was located at the Glendon Iron Works in Easton, Pennsylvania, and is typical of the anthracite stacks of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. By the late 1880s, furnaces fueled by hard coal were dis-

appearing from the industrial landscape. The use of coke in blast furnaces became widespread in Pennsylvania around this time, rivaling and then surpassing anthracite's supremacy even in the eastern counties. Coke was found to burn more efficiently in blast furnaces, thus making it a cheaper fuel than hard coal.

STEEL INDUSTRY

Steel was rapidly displacing iron as the metal of choice for rails, structural beams, machines, and many other products, with the production of steel drawing even to that of iron in 1883. Steel was produced by reducing the amount of carbon contained in cast iron from roughly 4 percent to 1 percent. This meant that after the iron was tapped from the furnace, it had to be chemically altered in order to produce steel. This was done through the advent of the Bessemer converter and open-hearth steel-making processes, which allowed steel to be inexpensively mass-produced.

By the early twentieth century, factories that produced exclusively iron products were rapidly becoming a thing of the past. Blast furnaces were now being located in huge steel mills instead of small iron works. These new "integrated" mills brought all phases of steel production to one centralized location, which was nearly always located in an urban environment. With the rise of mineral fuels, furnaces did not need to be located in heavily wooded areas, which meant that new plants could be built in towns and cities. The rise of rail transportation also meant that raw materials could easily be shipped to these urban factories. By 1900, great steel mills rose up in cities such as Johnstown, Bethlehem, Steelton, Lebanon, Homestead, and Pittsburgh.



◀ *Anthracite Furnace, Glendon Iron Works, Easton, Pennsylvania, November 10, 1881. Manuscript Group 23, Arthur Cecil Bining Collection.*

Two classic examples of these huge, integrated, urban steel mills are depicted here. The image below shows the Duquesne Works during the 1890s.

The second example *opposite*, shows Blast Furnace "G" at the South Bethlehem Plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in 1920. Bethlehem Steel became the nation's second largest steel producer, next to U.S. Steel, during the early twentieth century. The huge Bethlehem plant was the center of the company's operations, with the mill eventually stretching for over a mile along the Lehigh River in South Bethlehem. By World War I, the company employed over fifteen thousand people, with the majority working at this steel mill. In the image, two other blast furnaces can be seen rising behind Furnace G, along with a plethora of boilers that were used for heating the blast. The casting room protrudes from the front of the furnace stack, with molten iron and slag running out into waiting cars to be taken either to the open hearth furnaces or the slag pile.

The steel industry in the United States and Pennsylvania continued to expand throughout the first half of the twentieth century, supplying steel that was vital to America's participation in both World Wars. Between 1945 and 1970, the nation stood alone as the world's leading steel producer. However, Germany, Japan, and Great Britain eventually rebuilt their steel industries and even developing nations such as Korea and China began producing steel. These and a number of other factors led to the



▲ *Duquesne Works of the Carnegie Steel Company, Duquesne, Pennsylvania. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Photograph Collection.*



▲ Blast Furnace "G," Bethlehem Steel Corporation, South Bethlehem. Manuscript Group 23, Pennsylvania, June 3, 1920. Arthur Cecil Bining Collection.

decline of the American steel industry during the late 1970s and 1980s, a decline from which the country's major heavy metals industry has yet to recover. The downturn hit Pennsylvania very hard, causing widespread unemployment and despair in towns where steel mills either drastically cut operations or completely shut down their facilities. A few mills, such as the Edgar Thompson Works in Braddock, Pennsylvania Steel Technologies in Steelton, and the Irvin Works in West Mifflin are still operational, but most of the Commonwealth's major steel plants have permanently shut down.

The mill's heavy
remained a symbol
throughout the history
of the region, serving
as a source of pride
to Americans
participating in the
world wars.



▲ Breaker Boy, Pine Brook Mine, Scranton.
Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial
Museum Photograph Collection.

The northeastern corner of Pennsylvania contained the largest known deposit of anthracite coal in the world. Anthracite was first discovered in the Commonwealth during the 1760s, with organized mining operations beginning in the 1820s. By the end of the Civil War, the anthracite trade was one of Pennsylvania's major industries. Anthracite, or "hard" coal, was mined and processed at complexes called "collieries," which consisted of all the various components needed to produce and ship anthracite to market. Breakers were the most conspicuous of all the colliery buildings, dwarfing the various machine shops, engine houses, fan rooms, and ancillary structures located on the site. No two breakers looked exactly the same, but they were massive, with most rising to a height of over one hundred feet. A breaker performed many tasks related to coal production, including cleaning coal, breaking it into various sizes, sorting these different size pieces, and loading the coal into coal cars according to size before it was shipped to market. The ca. 1890s photograph *right*, depicts the breaker at the Derringer Colliery of the Cross Creek Coal Company. It is representative of breakers from that era. The colliery and the company were both owned by members of the Coxe family, one of the prominent coal industry families of the Lehigh or Eastern-Middle coalfield.

Throughout the early years of the industry, before child labor laws were enacted and enforced in Pennsylvania, thousands of "breaker boys" toiled in the breakers of collieries throughout the anthracite coal regions. Their jobs in these massive structures were not easy ones. Once coal was mined and brought to the surface, the coal car transporting it was sent to the top of the breaker. After it was weighed and found to be free of large amounts of dirt and slate, the car's contents were dumped into the top of the breaker. The coal then made its way through a series of chutes and screens, which separated the anthracite into various sized pieces. It was the job of the majority of breaker boys to sit on the top of the coal chutes and pick out pieces of slate from the coal as it flowed by on its journey to the bottom of the breaker. Unfortunately, the young man's appearance in the photograph *opposite*, is indicative of many boys in the anthracite coalfields during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By their early teens, most young men had dropped out of school and joined their older male relatives at the colliery. In fact, it was said that instead of graduating from high school, most boys in the coal regions graduated from the mines. The breaker was the place



▲ Breaker at the Derringer Colliery of the Cross Creek Coal Company, Derringer, Luzerne County, [ca. 1890s]. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Collection.

where these adolescents began their "education." The lad in the photograph *opposite*, had a somewhat easier job. He was employed at the Pine Brook Mine, which was located at the corner of Capouse Avenue and Carbon Street in Scranton. His job was "to see that the shafting, etc. in the coal breaker is properly oiled."

The mining of anthracite coal was a very dangerous business. In the early days of the industry, injury and death occurred at an alarming rate in the mines as well as on the surface. During 1871, the second year that fatalities in the industry were recorded, there were a total of two hundred and ten fatalities, which works out to 5.6 fatalities per one thousand miners. The fatality rate dropped off dramatically in subsequent years, but the total number of men killed continued to rise throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The peak year was 1896, when 502 men were the victims of fatal accidents. Many coal companies kept detailed journals documenting mining accidents. The Pennsylvania Department of Mines and Mineral Industries collected accident data for both the anthracite and bituminous fields. The information gathered for each accident reported included the name of the colliery where the accident occurred, accident date, employee name, age, whether the accident was fatal or non-fatal, whether it occurred inside or outside the mine, occupation and nationality of the worker, whether the worker was a citizen or an alien,

[illegible]

Although coal mining was a very physically demanding and dangerous profession, the miners who extracted the coal from the earth and sent it to the surface were very proud men. Not many people were tough enough to do the job they did. This toughness also bred respect among the workers, whose lives were dependent on their coworkers once they stepped on the elevator and descended deep into the mine.

The photograph *below right*, taken sometime between 1930 and 1950, shows three miners eating their lunches in the Coaldale Mine of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company in Coaldale, Pennsylvania. The electric lamps on their heads provided the only light to work by when they were on the job, so having the mine lighted for the photograph was one of the few times they could clearly see the entire section of the mine they were working in.

► *Three Miners Eating Lunch, Coaldale Mine, Coaldale, Schuylkill County.* Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Photograph Collection.

The peak years for anthracite coal production were the 1910s when anthracite coal was used principally for home heating. Industry-wide strikes in 1922 and 1925 caused many consumers to look at alternative fuels. After 1925, the anthracite business began a slow decline as oil and gas made significant inroads into the home heating market. From a peak of 165,000 in 1926, total employment in the anthracite industry dipped below 100,000 by 1937. Although miners continued to dig anthracite coal underground, strip mining soon replaced underground mining as the preferred method of extraction. Strip mining involves removing the layers of earth above coal seams using massive shovels called "draglines," a process that is much cheaper and less labor-intensive than underground mining. Of the 738 persons still employed in the mining of anthracite coal in the United States during the year 2000, only 130 worked in underground mines.



The bituminous coal and coke industries were important components in Pennsylvania's rise as an industrial powerhouse during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bituminous coal, also known as "soft" coal, lies beneath over fourteen thousand square miles of western and north central Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania bituminous fields are part of an extensive system of coal fields covering 55,076 square miles that stretch from Pennsylvania to northern Alabama and account for roughly 90 percent of the nation's coal production.

Bituminous coal was discovered in Pennsylvania in the 1690s and throughout the eighteenth century numerous instances of coal discoveries were reported in the western half of the Commonwealth. The coal was mined and used locally, until the first commercial shipment of bituminous was made from Pittsburgh in 1803. Before 1840, soft coal was utilized as a fuel in a number of different settings, including blacksmith's forges, steam engines, home heating stoves, glass-making ovens, and—to a lesser extent—iron furnaces. The industry expanded rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and by 1897 the output of bituminous mines surpassed anthracite ("hard" coal) production in the Commonwealth.

As with their brethren in the anthracite fields, the work done by soft coal miners can best be described as hard, dirty, and dangerous. The miners in the image *above right*, are on a "man trip," a journey into the mine in which the coal cars carried men instead of coal. Chances are that a number of these men would either be seriously hurt or even killed during their mining careers. Prior to the 1930s, injury and death were just as common in the mines of the bituminous fields as they were in the northeastern Pennsylvania anthracite fields. Miner mortality rates have been recorded since 1878 when forty-eight miners died, an average of 1.86 deaths per one thousand employees. Through the years from 1902 to 1920, the number of fatalities per year never dropped below four hundred, with the peak year being 1907, during which a staggering 806 bituminous miners lost their lives, an average of 4.4 deaths per one thousand miners.

No narrative of the bituminous coal industry would be complete without also discussing soft coal's most important by-product, coke. First produced in late sixteenth-century England, where the process was known as "charking" coal, coke is also known as the "bones of coal," and is a dark to silver-gray fuel used in iron furnaces. Coking is accomplished by baking bitumi-



▲ "Man Trip," [ca. 1910s], Photographs taken by H.C. Frick & Company. Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collection.

nous coal at a temperature between 900 and 1,150 degrees Celsius. This fuses the fixed carbon and ash together, as well as removing such volatile substances as tars, oils and gases. The method was not widely used in this country until the 1860s, due in large part to the availability of wood and its by-product, charcoal. The amount of coke derived from the distillation of bituminous coal varies from 50 to 85 percent, with any percentage greater than 65 percent being profitable.

The photograph on page 110 *top*, from the late nineteenth century shows a "bank" of "beehive" coke ovens in the Connellsville Coke District, a section of the Main Bituminous Field centered on the town of Connellsville, Fayette County. Beehive ovens made the large-scale coking of bituminous coal possible and were used well into the twentieth century. The ovens were dome-shaped, similar to the shape of a beehive, with waste brick and other materials filling the space between the walls and the inner lining, which consisted of heat-resistant firebricks. The process began at the mine, where cars known as "larry," "lorry" or "dinkey" cars were loaded with coal, which was then loaded, or "charged," into the ovens. After the coal was sufficiently coked, the firebricks were removed and the oven's contents were pulled from the oven by the "puller" and "quenched" with water from water lines that ran the length of the ovens. The man balancing the tool on his right shoulder was probably the puller for this section of coke ovens. The finished product was then loaded by hand into waiting cars and shipped to its final destination.

In addition to the inherent danger of mining coal underground, one of the similarities between Pennsylvania's bituminous and anthracite fields was the pattern of immigration exhibited by their



Late nineteenth Century Coke Ovens, Connellsville Coke District. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Photograph Collection.

respective workforces. Before the 1880s, mine workers in both regions consisted largely of native-born Americans and immigrants from northern and western Europe. After 1880, an influx of southern and eastern Europeans came to this country, bringing their own cultural traits, religious affiliations, and languages to Pennsylvania. This illustration *right*, shows a battery or bank of coke ovens, probably in the Connellsville Coke Region, with a danger sign written in six different languages. The photograph reflects the mixture of ethnic backgrounds present in southwestern Pennsylvania during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Another similarity between the hard and soft coal fields was the prevalence of what were known as "company towns," entire communities that were built by coal companies specifically for their workers. They included houses, company stores, community centers, churches, and ball fields. In short, everything that a normal town had was built into these classic examples of corporate paternalism. The photograph on the opposite page *top*, captures a

street in the town of Collier, a company town of H. C. Frick and Company, located about five miles southeast of Uniontown in Fayette County. Note the storm gutters along the side of the unpaved road, the sidewalks in front of the fences, and the neat line of identical dwellings on either side of the street. The company encouraged the inhabitants of their towns to keep the appearance of their rental properties neat, even awarding cash prizes for the best garden in each community.

By the early twentieth century, a new type of bituminous coal distillation apparatus, the "by-product" oven, was rapidly replacing the beehive oven. Designed in Europe in the 1880s, these ovens captured and recycled the by-products of the coke-making process, elements such as gas, ammonia, light oil, and tar. Their advantages were so overwhelming that in 1918 the Pennsylvania Department of Mines urged coke operators to embrace the new ovens and get rid of the older beehives. Even though their disadvantages were apparent, beehive ovens still produced quality coke and their use persisted well into the twentieth century.

▼ *Battery of Coke Ovens, with a "Danger" sign in six languages is visible in this photograph taken by H. C. Frick and Company. Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collection.*



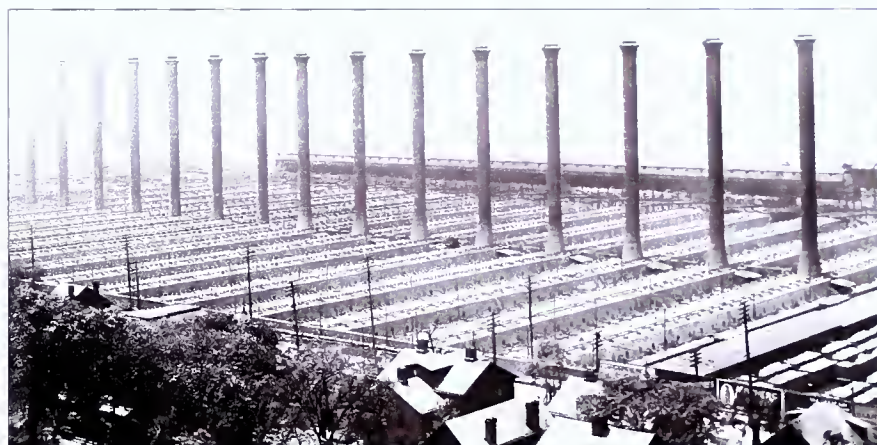


◀ Collier, Pennsylvania, looking south along one of its streets, July 23, 1912. Photographs taken by H.C. Frick & Company Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collection.

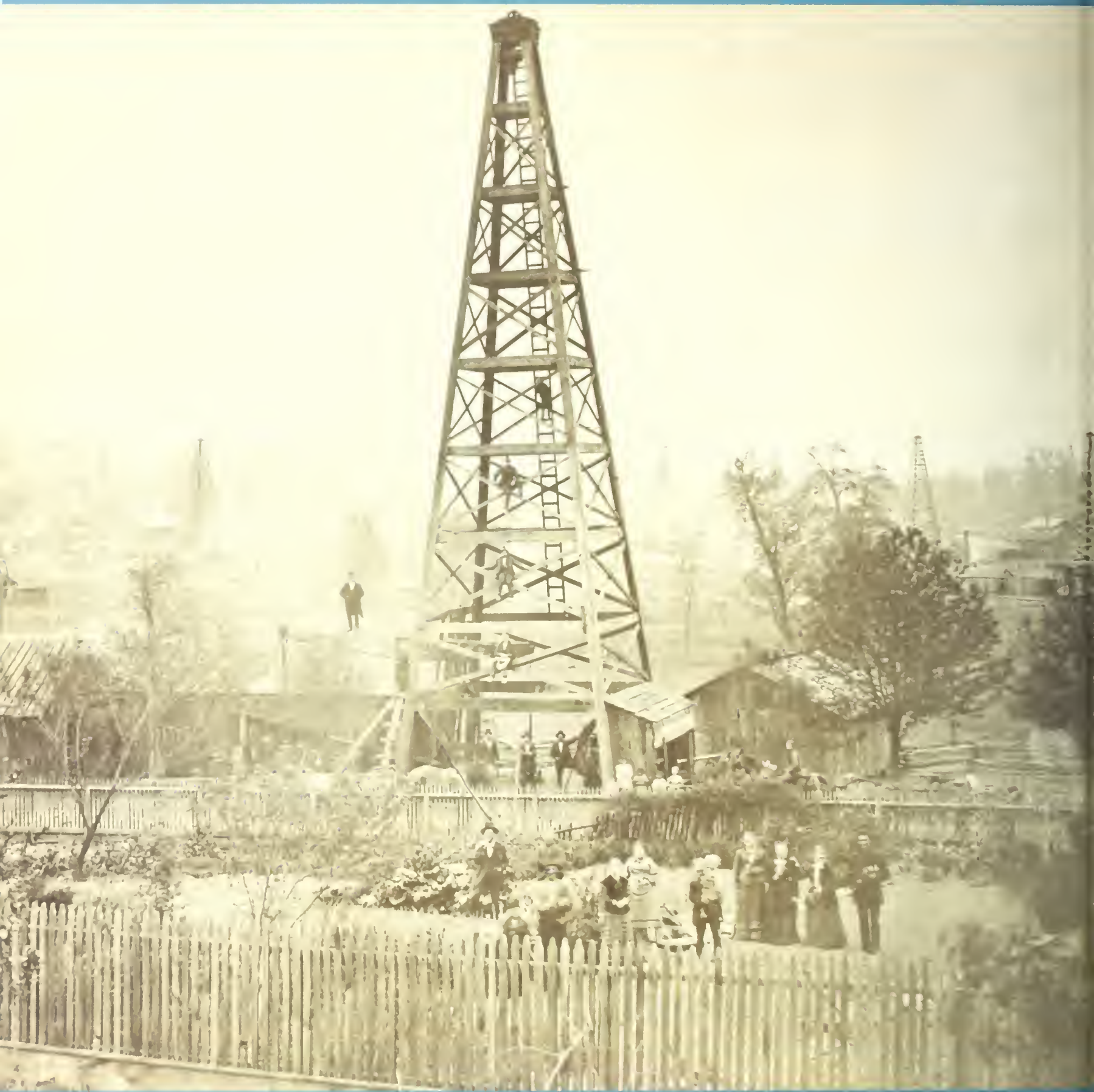
▼ Jones and Laughlin's Massive Batteries of Coke Ovens in Pittsburgh, early twentieth century. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Photograph Collection. Subject File.

The image *right* shows an enormous complex of beehive ovens that was owned by the Jones and Laughlin steel company, at some point in the early twentieth century.

After over one hundred years of expansion and growth, the bituminous coal trade began a long period of decline in the 1920s. The industry did rebound during the Great Depression (due to government financial assistance) and World War II, but by the 1960s it was a shell of its former self. Alternative fuel sources, over-production, and labor-management conflict are among the reasons for the decline. In 1995, over 60.8 million tons of bituminous coal were produced by Pennsylvania's 604 active mines, which employed 7,986 people. Over 86 percent of the soft coal mined in 1995 was used as fuel at electric power stations, with the remainder used as coking coal for steel mill operations and other industrial purposes.



The Pennsylvania bituminous fields are part of an extensive system of coal fields called the Eastern Region stretching from Pennsylvania to northern Alabama.



▲ Oil Field located near Lamartine, Pennsylvania.
Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collections.

Mankind has utilized petroleum for thousands of years. The Egyptians used pitch to coat their mummies and seal the Pyramids, while Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Native Americans used petroleum for medicinal purposes. The modern petroleum industry began in Titusville; a small town nestled in the Oil Creek Valley of northwestern Pennsylvania. It was there, in 1859, that Edwin L. Drake successfully drilled the world's first oil well, setting off an "oil rush" that was similar in many ways to the California Gold Rush of 1849. In the years that followed, prospectors rushed into newly built boomtowns, buying up land and drilling wells in hopes of striking "black gold."

Petroleum's existence in Pennsylvania was first noted on Lewis Evans's map of the middle British colonies in America in 1755 (Map 116 in Manuscript Group 11, Map Collection). It was initially discovered seeping out of the ground and into Oil Creek, a stream that would eventually become the focal point of the fledgling petroleum industry. Throughout the next hundred years, missionaries, soldiers, explorers, and area residents all wrote about and utilized the black substance for a variety of purposes. One of the first persons to successfully market and sell petroleum in Pennsylvania was a man named Samuel Kier. Beginning in the late 1840s, he collected the oil from his family's salt wells outside of Pittsburgh, bottled it and sold it as a cure-all called "Kier's Rock Oil." He also began experimenting with the substance, ultimately producing an illuminant called "carbon oil" by refining the petroleum at a warehouse in Pittsburgh.

America's first oil company was the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company of Connecticut, founded in 1855 to speculate on the potential value of the petroleum deposits located beneath the Oil Creek Valley. In 1857 Edwin Drake was hired by the company to drill an oil well, but he quickly ran into a plethora of problems. He had trouble hiring someone to help him sink the well, and it seems the local populace thought him crazy. In fact they often came out from Titusville to Drake's work site just to heckle him. On March 23, 1858, the company reformed itself as the Seneca Oil Company of Connecticut and by the summer of 1859, the newly formed corporation was becoming impatient with Drake's lack of progress. He had run out of money and when he wired the company for additional cash, the company refused. Instead of giving up, Drake secured local funding to continue his drilling and on August 27, 1859, Drake's well hit oil at the very shallow

depth of 69 1/2 feet. The petroleum industry was born.

One of the major problems encountered by oilmen in Pennsylvania was the lack of an adequate transportation system. Teamsters had the oil transport market cornered until they were put out of business by pipelines that were faster and cheaper in transporting oil than wagons hauling heavy barrels. One of the world's first successful oil pipelines was constructed by Samuel Van Syckel in 1865. Stretching for roughly five miles from the Pithole oilfield to the Miller Farm on the Oil Creek Railroad line, it effectively put the teamsters out of business. Within ten years pipelines extended throughout the region, including a sixty-mile pipeline that stretched from the oil fields all the way to Pittsburgh.

The heyday for the oilfields of northwestern Pennsylvania lasted from 1859 through 1873. During that time the Oil Creek Valley was the world's leading petroleum-producing area, with the district's wells pumping over fifty-six million barrels of oil to the surface. By the early 1860s, the peaceful agricultural landscape of the region was transformed into a forest of oil derricks and refineries. The two photographs that accompany this section, taken at some point in the 1860s or 1870s, are examples of this new landscape. The wooden towers rising high above each oil well are the derricks that sprout ubiquitously in nearly every photograph taken in the region during the oil rush period.

By the final two decades of the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania had lost its position as the nation's leader in petroleum production. At first competing only with early oil fields in Baku, Russia, and in Poland, competition increased as new fields were opened in Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana during the 1880s. By the first decade of the new century, California, Texas, and Oklahoma were America's leading oil producing states. As petroleum became big business, control passed into the hands of such oil tycoons as John D. Rockefeller, owner of the Standard Oil Company. Rockefeller controlled 90 percent of the nation's refining capacity in 1880 and by the 1890s his company owned an estimated 75 percent of the petroleum business in the United States.

In 1901, the discovery of a huge oil field at Spindletop, Texas, usurped all other American oil production for many years. Significant oil strikes occurred first in Iran in 1908, followed by Iraq in 1927, and Saudi Arabia in 1938. Today, petroleum is the largest source of energy used in the United States and the nation's 163 oil refineries produce 25 percent of the world's refined petroleum products. Since Pennsylvania crude oil is paraffin rather

than asphalt based, it was especially well suited to replacing whale oil as an illuminant and a lubricant for machinery during the nineteenth century. "Vaseline" petroleum jelly is a naturally occurring element of Pennsylvania crude oil and was first harvested by Robert Chesebrough, a twenty-two-year-old English chemist, who learned of its medicinal properties in the

Pennsylvania oil fields in 1859. He patented "Vaseline" in 1870. Pennsylvania crude oil also possesses high gasoline content and is easily refined by distillation. Even though it is no longer the world's center of petroleum production, Pennsylvania is still a leading petroleum-refining state, employing 4,200 persons and shipping \$7.2 billion of refined petroleum products in 1996.



▲ *The Town of Glade Run,
Pennsylvania, During the Oil
Excitement* Manuscript Group 218,
Photographs Collection

*The modern petroleum
industry began in
Titusville; a small town
nestled in the Oil Creek
Valley of northwestern
Pennsylvania.*

CANALS

The canal era began in Pennsylvania in 1797 with the construction of the Conewago Canal located below York Haven which enabled boats to circumvent the Conewago Falls. During the subsequent four decades, hundreds of miles of additional canals and connecting railways were constructed in the Commonwealth, with most of the state's major canal building projects taking place during the 1820s and 1830s. The driving force for these large-scale endeavors was the completion of the Erie Canal in the state of New York between 1817 and 1825. This canal gave New York a clear path to the country's interior waterways, and hence an overwhelming advantage over the transportation systems of its neighbors.

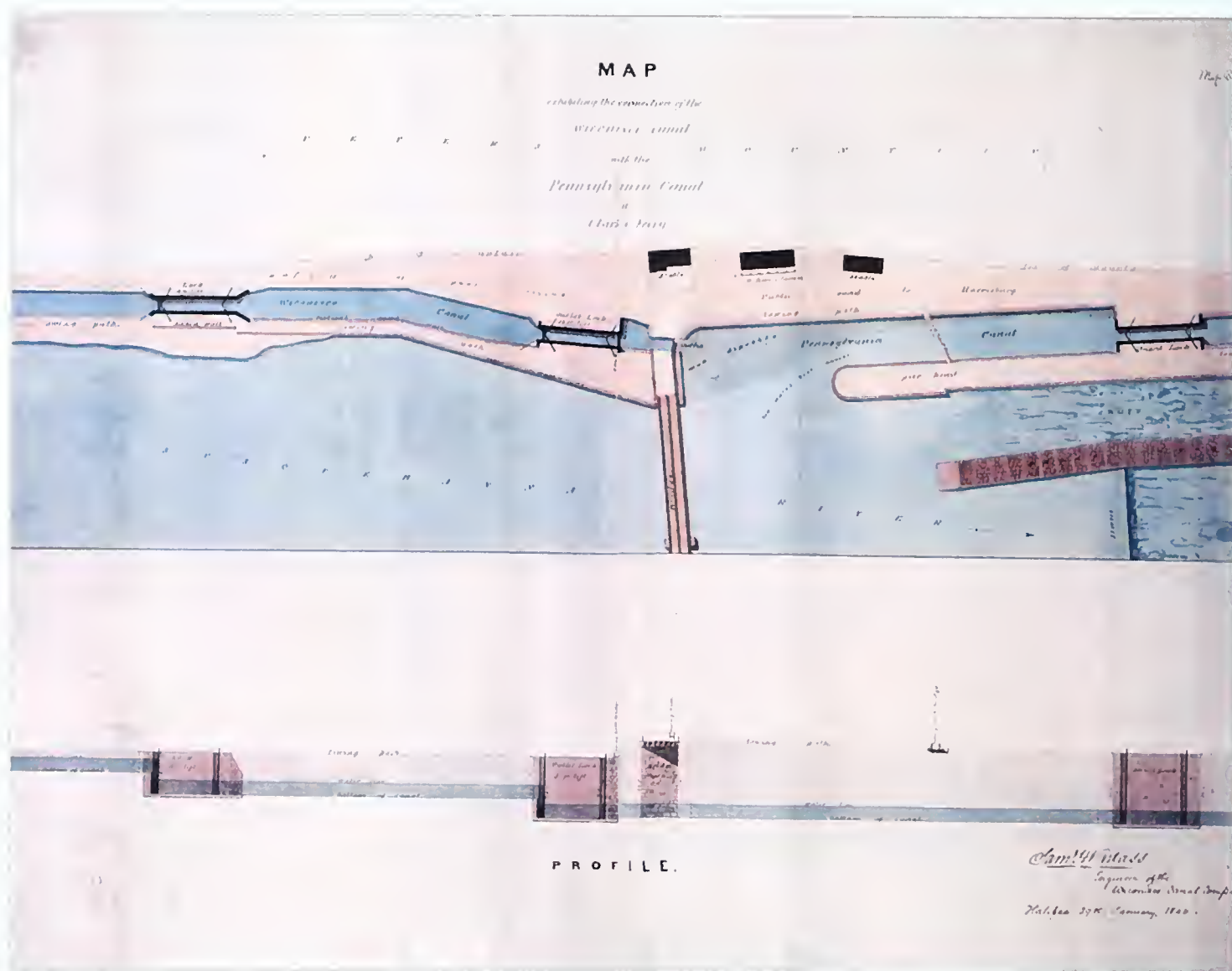
Construction of the Pennsylvania Canal commenced on July 4, 1826. An unbroken mountain in the Appalachian Mountain chain known as the Allegheny Front created a natural barrier that was overcome by the construction of the Allegheny Portage Railroad. A thirty-seven-mile system of railroads and ten inclined planes, it was

completed in 1834, allowing Pennsylvania's canal system to open that same year. By 1840, the Pennsylvania "Main Line" Canal encompassed 726 miles of waterways, associated railways, and inclined planes.

In addition to the Main Line, there were numerous other privately owned canal systems in the state. One of these was the Schuylkill Canal owned and operated by Schuylkill Navigation Company. Established in 1815, the Schuylkill Navigation Company completed the canal in 1825. Used primarily to transport anthracite coal from northeastern Pennsylvania to Philadelphia, it stretched for 108 miles between Port Carbon and Philadelphia, contained 120 locks and covered nearly fifty-eight miles. This canal was leased to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company for 999 years in 1870 and continued to operate commercially until 1931. The photograph below shows a number of workmen building canal boats for the Schuylkill Navigation Company during the 1870s. The work is being done on the banks



▲ Canal Boats being built at Highspire, Pennsylvania. Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collection.



of the Susquehanna River at Highspire, south of Harrisburg. Note the large chunks of ice floating in the river.

Building and maintaining the canals was an extremely labor-intensive proposition, one that required a good deal of brains as well as brawn. On April 11, 1825, the Pennsylvania legislature established the Board of Canal Commissioners to oversee the construction and maintenance of the state's canal system. Many of the country's top engineers were engaged to bring the Board's plans to fruition. Scores of laborers, Irish immigrants mostly, were hired to dig canal channels and build numerous other structures associated with the canals, including lift locks, aqueducts, dams, reservoirs, feeders, canal basins, waste-weirs, towpath bridges, canal boat weighing locks, and inclined planes. The records of the Canal Board are housed at the State Archives in Record Group 17, the Records of the Pennsylvania Land Office. Contained in this record group is a series of map books depicting various structures associated with the canal system. The map *above*, shows the junction of the Pennsylvania Canal and the Wiconisco Canal at Clark's Ferry, located roughly fifteen miles north of Harrisburg. Construction on

Map Showing the Junction of the Wiconisco and Pennsylvania Canals at Clark's Ferry. 1846. Record Group 17. Record of the Land Office. Record of the Board of Canal Commissioners.

the Wiconisco was started by the state in 1838 but was completed by a private firm. It ran north for twelve miles to Millersburg and served as an essential outlet for the anthracite coal fields via the Lykens Valley Railroad junction at Millersburg.

The year 1852 marked the beginning of the end for the Commonwealth's canal systems. That year the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) began offering rail service from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh when it opened its "Main Line" railroad. The PRR bought the state Main Line Canal at a public auction for \$7.5 million on June 25, 1857. In 1859 the Board of Canal Commissioners was abolished and all canals owned by the Commonwealth were sold. The Pennsylvania Canal Company was formed by the PRR in 1867, and a fair amount of freight was handled by various canal systems in the state until roughly 1875, steadily declining after that. By 1901, nearly all the Commonwealth's canals were shut down, though a few continued to operate until the 1940s.

Erie County was erected out of a part of Allegheny County on March 12, 1800, and named for Lake Erie. The name is derived from the extinct Indian tribe known as the Errieronens, or the “cat people,” who originally occupied the region prior to the arrival of European explorers and who were apparently exterminated in a major war with the Iroquois Confederacy about 1650. The town of Erie was laid out in 1795, incorporated as a borough in 1805, and became a city in 1851, the year in which this map was published. In 1850, the Borough of Erie possessed a population of 5,858 and as an important port, canal, and rail terminus was about to become embroiled in the infamous “War of the Gauges.”

While the Erie and Northeast Railroad had adopted a gauge of 72 inches along the eighteen-mile length of its tracks, the Buffalo and State Line Railroad to the east used a gauge of 56.5 inches and the Ohio legislature required a gauge of 58 inches for rail lines running through that state. Many Erie residents, and the

Pennsylvania legislature that had invested heavily in the canal and railroad system known as the State Works, came to favor these differences because it forced all the railroads to “break bulk,” that is transfer freight from one car to another, along the southern shore of Lake Erie. Some local residents feared a significant loss of jobs, however, from an eventual direct linkage if the New York line adopted Ohio’s fifty-eight-inch gauge standard for their Chicago-bound traffic. Local Erie hoodlums called “rippers” became infamous for ripping up the new fifty-eight-inch gauge track and demolishing trestles erected during the early 1850s. The “War of the Gauges” was eventually rendered irrelevant with the adoption of a nationwide gauge standard of 56.5 inches.

The Erie Extension Canal is shown in the lower left quadrant *below*, and the Erie and Northeast Railroad line is depicted on the bottom right hand corner of the section reproduced on page 118. At this period, the city of Erie remained primarily oriented toward the canal basin and the warehouses on Presque Isle Bay.



◀ Section of Map of Erie surveyed and published by John Bevan of Jersey City, printed in three colors on paper, 1851. Manuscript Group 11, Map Collection.

RAILROADS

By 1834, the Pennsylvania State Works, a system of state-owned, interconnected railroads and canals, provided a solution to the problem of transportation across Pennsylvania's very difficult geographical terrain. This system enabled passengers and cargo to travel across the state in only four and a half days, as compared to the twenty days normally required by horse or wagon. The most striking feature of the journey was the Allegheny Portage Railroad, a series of ten mechanized, inclined planes built from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown to carry train cars and canal boats over the otherwise nearly impassable Allegheny Mountain. In *American Notes*, Charles Dickens described the experience of being hauled up and down the mountainside:

We had left Harrisburg on Friday. On Saturday morning we arrived at the foot of the mountain, which is crossed by a railroad. There are ten inclined planes; five ascending, and five descending; the carriages are dragged up the former, and let slowly down the latter, by means of stationary engines; the comparatively level spaces

between being traversed, sometimes by horse, and sometimes by engine power, as the case demands. Occasionally the rails are laid upon the extreme verges of a giddy precipice, and looking from the carriage window, the traveler gazes sheer down, without stone or scrap of fence between, into the mountain depths below. The journey is very carefully made, however; only two carriages travelling together; and, while proper precautions are taken, is not to be dreaded for its dangers.

Although the State Works improved east-west transportation across the Commonwealth, over time the system nonetheless possessed its own inefficiencies. Canals froze in winter and flooded in the spring. The inclined planes of the Portage Railroad were plagued by mechanical breakdowns and required nearly daily maintenance that forced passengers to take overnight accommodations. Since railroad cars required coupling and uncoupling no less than thirty-three times over the thirty-six mile route, there was far too much car-handling to enable the Main Line to remain competitive with New York's Erie Canal system or Maryland's



▲ Photograph of George Storm's painting of a canal boat being hauled up an Allegheny Portage Railroad incline toward the engine house, undated. Manuscript Group 286, Penn Central Railroad Collection. Pennsylvania Railroad, Office of the Secretary, Historical File.

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The Commonwealth had borrowed \$40 million to fund its canals and railroads, but had yet to see much in the way of a return. As a result, in 1842 the Commonwealth suspended interest payments to investors in the project.

Private enterprise seemed to be the answer to the faltering state system, but great contention arose concerning into what hands to place the system. By 1842 the competing Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had been built westward as far as Cumberland, Maryland, almost due south of Altoona, and the people of Pittsburgh were eager to be connected to that line. Philadelphia entrepreneurs, however, already in financial competition with businesses in Baltimore and New York, were not at all pleased with the prospect of being bypassed by a southern rail route. The conflicting interests of western and eastern Pennsylvanians grew into such a fierce battle in the legislature that a secession of the western counties from the Commonwealth was even proposed. Compromise legislation was passed, however, by a margin of only one vote. On April 13, 1846, the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) was chartered by Governor Francis R. Shunk, and charged with connecting Philadelphia and Pittsburgh entirely by rail. Given a deadline of July 30, 1847, to not only build thirty miles of roadbed from Harrisburg towards Pittsburgh but also to raise \$1 million in capital, the PRR faced a dire consequence. If it failed in either goal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad would be chartered to operate in Pennsylvania and granted the monopoly for a line to Pittsburgh. Against the odds, and with the help of substantial stock subscriptions by the City of Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Railroad succeeded on both fronts and retained its rights to the Pittsburgh route.

By 1852, track construction had progressed from Harrisburg along the Juniata and Conemaugh Rivers to a point near Johnstown where the Allegheny Portage Railroad began. It was chief engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad, John Edgar Thomson, who designed the solution to the problem of how to lay tracks over and around the mountains, allowing trains to cross directly. When conservative PRR President William C. Patterson balked at the need to borrow money to finance the construction, Thomson challenged him for the presidency. Thompson was elected to the post in February of 1852, and within the year sufficient funds had been raised.

The route that Thomson chose proceeded west of Altoona, rising 122 feet at a practical grade of less than two percent, a grade that a train of average length could manage with the aid of a helper locomotive. In order to construct this portion of the line, Thomson hired Irish laborers from Counties Cork, Mayo and Antrim in Ireland who lived in camps set up along the route. Using only picks and shovels, these laborers cut away the front of the mountain to form the ledge upon which to lay the tracks. The soil and rocks that they removed were hauled in mule-drawn carts to create a man-made embankment, filling and bridging two deep intervening ravines on either side of the center of the curve. Utilizing the embankment, the tracks went up the eastern side of the mountain and turned to cross the valleys to the western side, where they turned again. The result resembled a horseshoe.

With the opening of the Horseshoe Curve on February 15, 1854, travel time between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh was reduced from four days on the State Works to as little as thirteen hours. During the first half of the 1900s, the Horseshoe Curve was considered, along with the Panama Canal, the Empire State Building, and the Bay Bridge at San Francisco, one of the engineering "Wonders of the World." In testament to the quality of the engineering, there has never been a need to improve upon the original track alignment. And in fact, the curve itself was not the only engineering feat involved in the crossing of the Allegheny Mountain, the highest point between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. At 2,161 feet above sea level, a 3,612-foot tunnel also had to be cut through the rocky crest near Gallitzin to eliminate the last 150 feet of the climb.

By 1855 the State Works, which was still in operation, opened the New Portage Railroad, its own all-rail route over the Allegheny Mountain. Using portions of the old Allegheny Portage Railroad route and in part following the route of the PRR, the New Portage Railroad tried to imitate the feats of its competitor, digging its own tunnel through the top of the mountain, and even building its own curve, christened the "Muleshoe Curve." But continued reliance upon connecting canals, a much slower means of transport than rails, doomed the entire effort to failure. Caught up in the spirit of the industrial age, Americans were now interested in speed. In 1857 the state-owned railroad was abandoned and on August first of that same year PRR president Thomson purchased the entire State Works system at auction for only seven and a half million dollars. He was the sole bidder.

The conquest of the mountains enabled the Pennsylvania Railroad to expand further westward by establishing connections with other railroad lines and building more of its own. In time, the Horseshoe Curve became not only a vital link in the nation's transportation system, but also a tourist attraction. Pennsylvania Railroad officials promoted interest by requiring conductors to notify passengers that they were approaching the curve and featuring it on the covers of its calendars, annual reports, and in campaigns. In fact, the curve became so symbolic of stability and progress that the Pennsylvania Railroad had the image inscribed on its stock certificates (p. 122). Because of the public's continuing interest, the National Park Service named the Horseshoe Curve a National

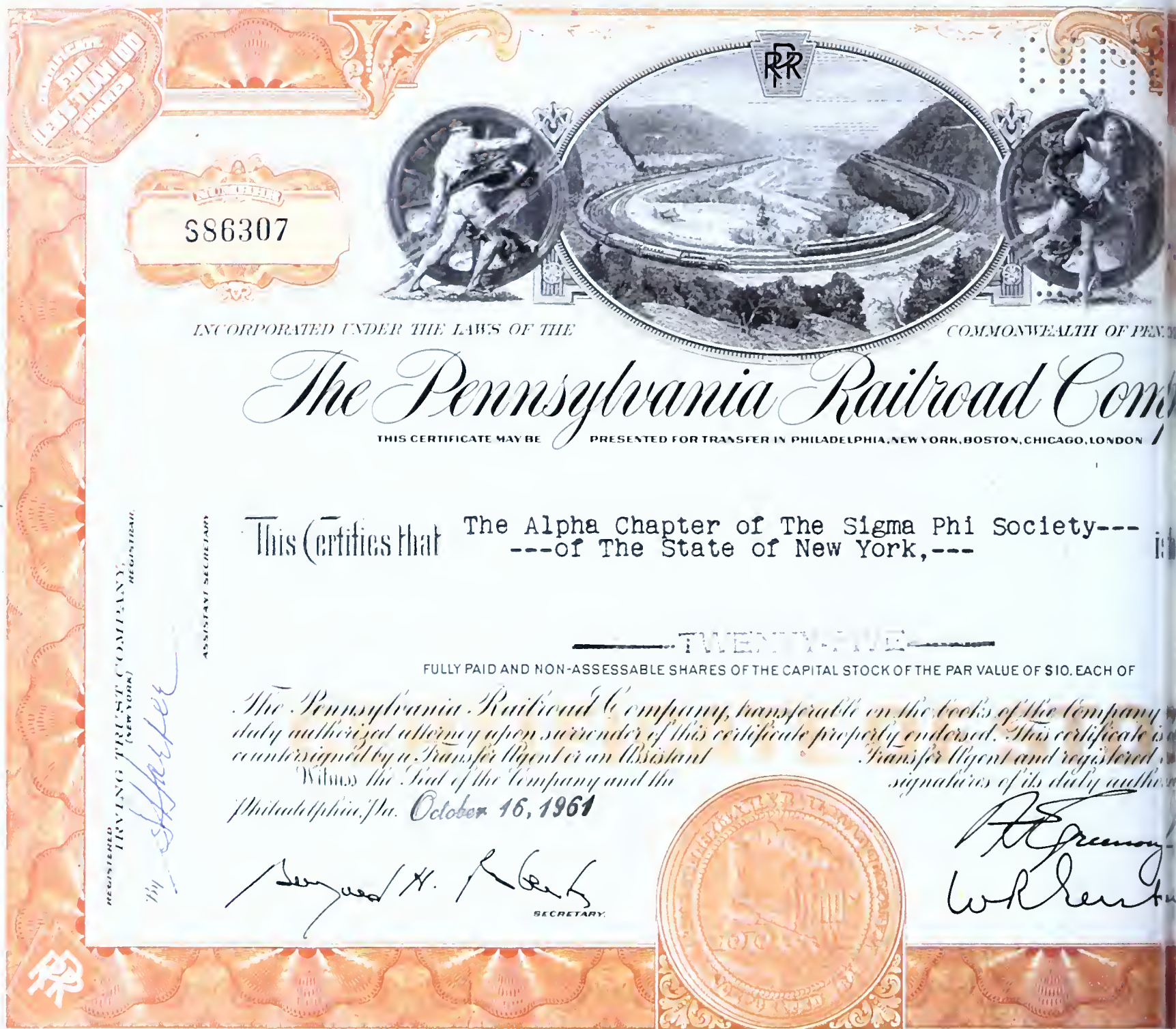
Historic Site in 1967. The Horseshoe Curve remains an important transportation artery connecting eastern and western sections of the state and nation, a significant tribute to the vigorous efforts of engineers and laborers. It is an ideal spot for watching trains both coming and going, and is one of Pennsylvania's most popular historic landmarks.

The Horseshoe Curve, albumen photographic print by William T. Purviance, ca. 1858. Note the man-made embankment directly underneath the locomotive, bridging one of the two ravines over which the curve was built. The other portion of the embankment is also visible behind the train. Manuscript Group 218, Cecil C. Fulton, Jr. Photographs. Photograph Collection.



PURVIANCE, Photographer, Philad'a.

JAMES S. EARLE & SONS, 816 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, General Agents for the Publisher.



▲ Pennsylvania Railroad stock certificate depicting the Horseshoe Curve, 1961. Manuscript Group 286, Penn Central Railroad Collection. Pennsylvania Railroad, Office of the Secretary, Stock and Bond Certificates.

The locomotive rapidly emerged as a symbol of speed, power, profit and progress that changed both the way Americans looked at their world and the efficiency with which they were able to transform it. Railroads became the mainstay of commercial transportation throughout the United States, unifying the country despite political and geographical differences, transforming a predominantly agrarian nation into an industrial giant. From its



fledgling efforts to establish cross-state transportation, Pennsylvania grew into a true “keystone” state in the railroading industry, becoming home to some of the most noted rail carriers and manufacturers in the world. The state ranked fourth in the nation in track mileage in 1861, with 2,598 miles of railroad track, and by 1900 it was in second place with 10,311 miles. The network of tracks so blanketed the state that few communities were more than ten miles from a rail line. Pennsylvania’s railroad network reached a peak in 1915 with 11,500 miles of track.

The Pennsylvania Railroad was by far the most important rail line in the Commonwealth, and indeed grew into the strongest railroad system in the country as the self-styled “Standard Railroad of the World.” Having successfully completed its route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in 1854, the Pennsylvania Railroad embarked on a program of further expansion, primarily by leasing and purchasing other railroads. By the early 1900s, the “Pennsy” was handling 10 percent of all freight traffic and 20 percent of all passenger traffic in the country, and reached its greatest physical extent of about twenty thousand track miles in

1920. The PRR boasted gross earnings of \$721 million in 1923, peak employment in 1920 of 279,787, and a corporate structure extensive enough to rival many state governments. Widows owned more stock in the PRR than anyone else.

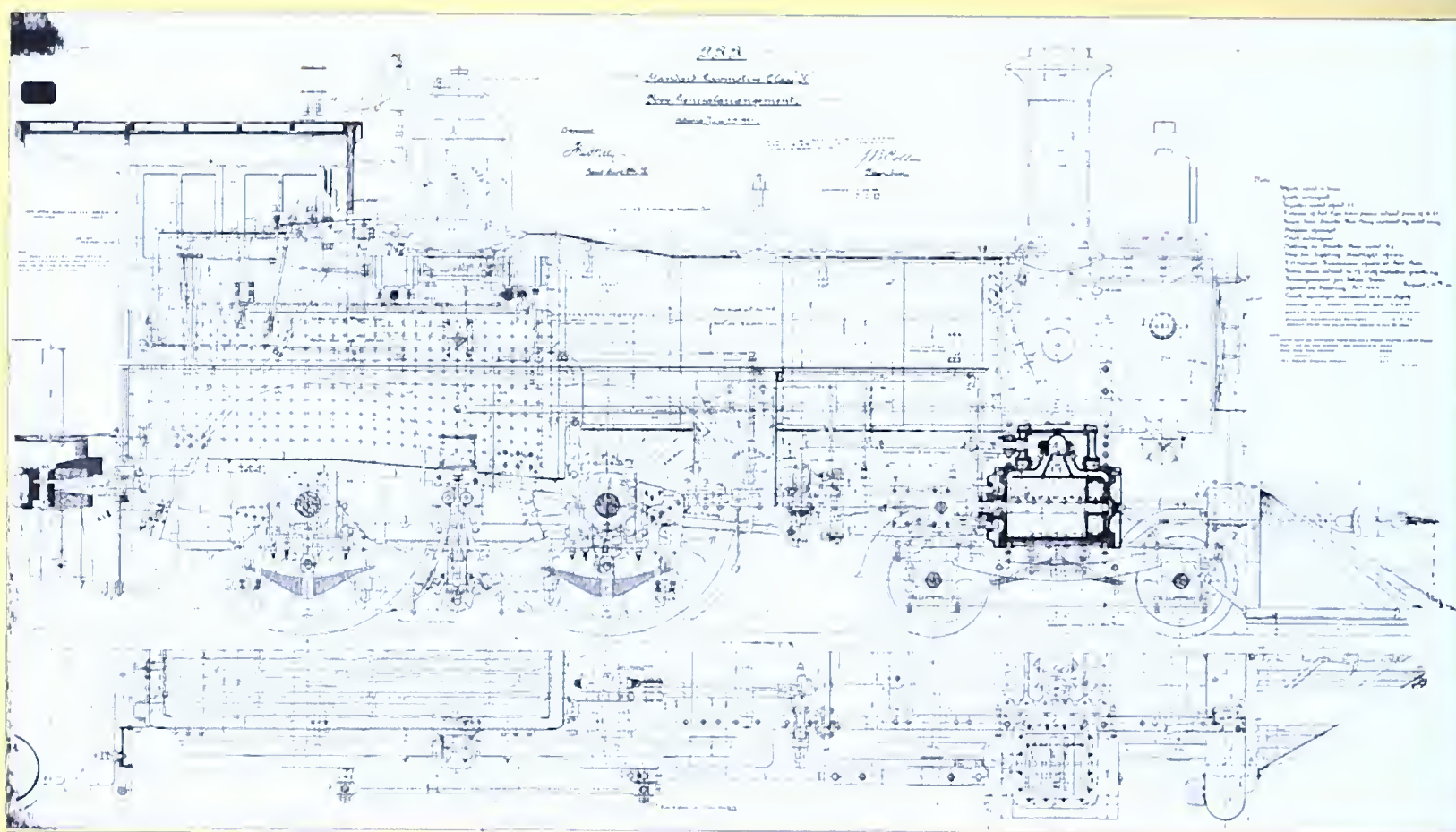
During the 1880s, the “K” class steam locomotive, depicted on page 124, was one of the fastest and most advanced express locomotives operating in the United States. Normally, rail carriers

focused their energies on operation and repairs, rather than actually manufacturing their own rolling stock. The PRR, however, was an exception, as were several other Commonwealth lines such as the Reading and Lehigh Valley. The PRR virtually created the town of Altoona by setting up a massive complex of locomotive and car shops there. By 1866, new locomotives were being produced at the Altoona Works, and soon thereafter, standardized components were being manufactured for uniform equipment classes. This was a notable advance at a time when many locomotives were still being hand built, a method that discouraged the use of interchangeable parts. More than 16,500 workers were employed in the Altoona shops by 1916. Designed for hauling heavy freight cars, by the middle of the twentieth century, the Baldwin Locomotive Works was turning out locomotives equipped with diesel engines and electrical gear. Although diesel electric locomotives were being manufactured in the United States as early as 1925, it was not until after World War II that they began to displace steam engines, which they could outperform in almost every way including cost efficiency.

The State Archives holds sizeable collections relating to rail carriers in the state in addition to the almost five thousand cubic feet of records of the PRR and its many subsidiaries. Also prominent in Pennsylvania’s economic and industrial history were the builders of locomotives and rolling stock. Founded in Philadelphia by Matthias Baldwin in 1831, the Baldwin Locomotive Works built more steam locomotives than any other institution in the world, as well as thousands of the diesel locomotives that replaced them. The State Archives maintains an extensive collection of Baldwin records relating to diesel and steam locomotives constructed after 1940. Other manufacturing records include those of the Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company plant in Butler.

Regardless of their successes, railroads and builders alike fell victim to economic changes and advances in competing transportation technologies during the twentieth century. As highways and aviation grew in popularity among shippers and travelers, massive government subsidies to these new rivals undercut the ability of railroads to compete. Smaller anthracite lines such as the Reading and the Lehigh Valley suffered too, not only from general economic conditions and competition, but also from the dwindling demand for coal.

The Pennsylvania Railroad
was by far the most important
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into the strongest railroad
system in the country.



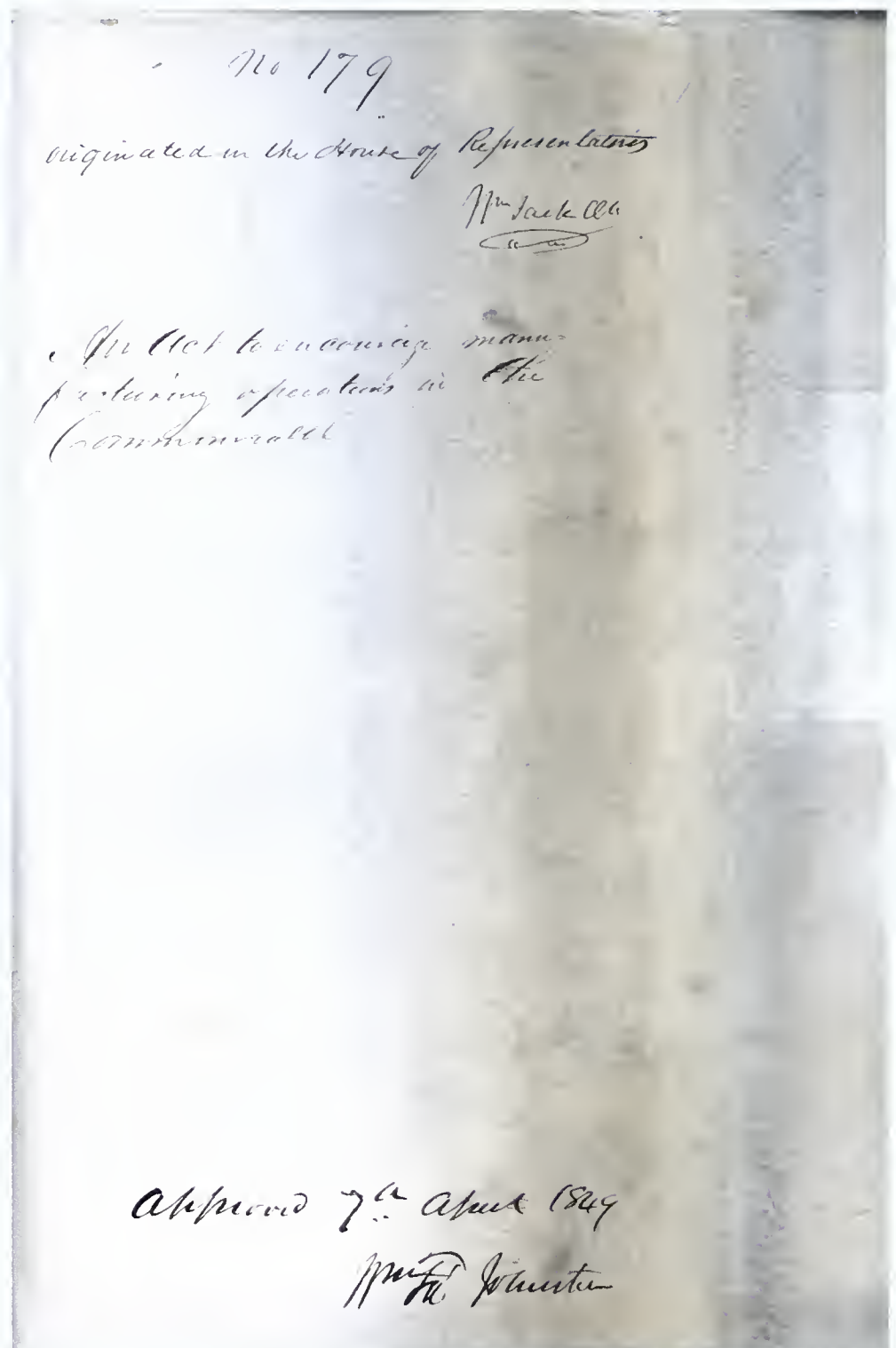
▲ Mechanical engineering drawing showing the general arrangement of the Pennsylvania Railroad's class "K" steam locomotive, from the PRR's Altoona Machine Shops, June 4th, 1883. Manuscript Group 286, Penn Central Railroad Collection.

OTHER
INDUSTRIES

Brawn. Grim faces displaying a quiet pride. Belching smokestacks painting a gray background. These are the images that come to mind when one thinks of the emergence of Pennsylvania as an industrial powerhouse. Oil wells, steel mills, coal mines, and shipyards are the backdrop for countless portraits of an immigrant work force, one that was without peer in creating the industrial age. Though this image is in many ways accurate, it is also incomplete. The industrial age came to every city and town in Pennsylvania, and it gathered in a wider swath of Pennsylvania's people. The variety of industrial processes in the state was staggering. In addition to the sinews of industrial might, an array of companies, large and small, engaged in producing a wide variety of goods for a burgeoning consumer economy. During the course of the nineteenth century, cottage industries and home production declined significantly as the sources of many domestic goods. Clothing, shoes, housewares, and prepared foods were increasingly the product of organized, industrial processes. Though the factory system introduced new efficiencies through repetitive, defined tasks and an organized workflow that increased production, it did not always provide a more pleasant work environment.

Pennsylvania's place in industrial production may be gauged by a few statistics from the year 1927. With less than 8 percent of the population, Pennsylvania produced almost 11 percent of the nation's industrial output and received over 12 percent of wages paid, second only to New York. Pennsylvania led the nation in forty-four industrial categories and had 15 percent of the country's primary horsepower installed in manufacturing plants, the most of any state in the nation. While the leading industries included rails, iron and steel, metal working machinery, and steam engines, Pennsylvania also led in a variety of smaller industries. Some of these were the manufacture of artificial limbs, carpets and rugs, cigars, knit and lace goods, and silk.

▼ Endorsement sheet of An Act to encourage Manufacturing Operations in this Commonwealth, April 7, 1849. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State, Engrossed Laws.



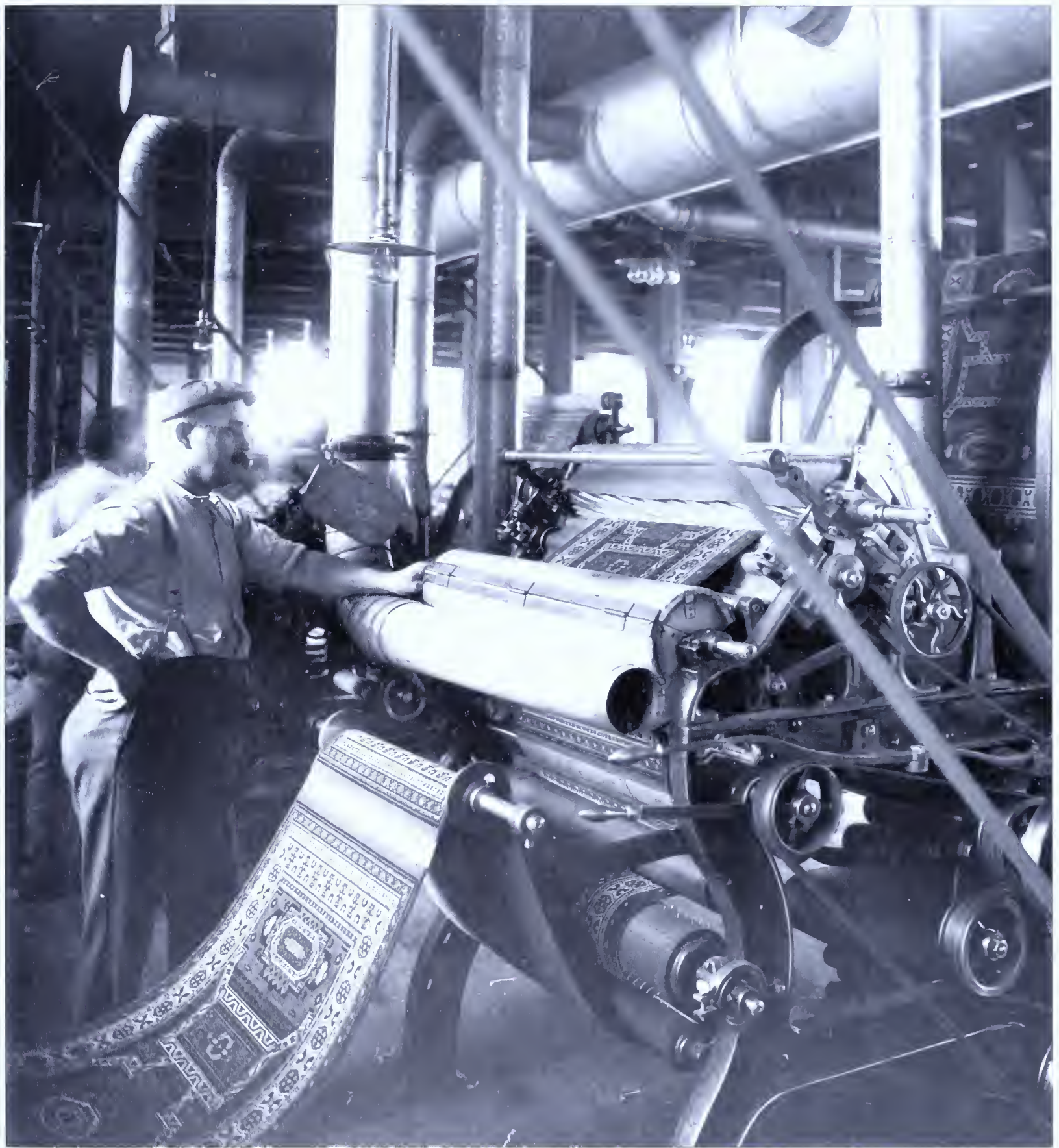
Silk manufacturers have a long history in Pennsylvania. Susanna Wright of Lancaster County began silk cultivation on her plantation at the settlement of Wright's Ferry lying along the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River in the mid-eighteenth century, and she left detailed instructions on how to raise silkworms. Her work was of high quality and a dress for Queen Charlotte of England was made from this silk. Though the climate and other factors worked against silk becoming a very large industry during the eighteenth century, the invention of high-

speed looms made it possible for Pennsylvania to emerge as a major producer of silk products almost two centuries after Wright's pioneering efforts.

By 1927, women made up 20 percent of Pennsylvania's work force and were a majority in the manufacture of textiles. They also were a significant percentage of the workers engaged in the fields of food and related products, leather and rubber goods manufacturing, tobacco factories, paper mills, and printing shops.



Women winding silk at the Sauquoit Silk Manufacturing Company of Philadelphia, March 27, 1918. Pennsylvania led the nation in silk production. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Collection.



▲ Carpets and rugs were a major part of Pennsylvania's housewares production. Shown here is a step in the manufacturing process at Hardwick and Magee Company of Philadelphia. September 17, 1925. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Collection.



▲ Women completing the covers of baseballs at a sports manufacturing factory. By the beginning of the twentieth century, baseball was the national pastime and the demand for recreation equipment was a new phenomenon in industrial production. Manuscript Group 219, Philadelphia Commercial Museum Collection.

Labor's Discontent

1877
RAILROAD
STRIKE

America's Industrial Revolution was in full swing by the latter half of the 1870s. With a myriad of products pouring forth from the nation's mines, mills, and factories, the country needed a reliable transportation system to efficiently ship these goods to markets extending all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

Scores of immigrants contributed to a burgeoning population, and needed a reliable transportation system to get them where they needed to go. As a result, Pennsylvania emerged as the leading railroading state in the nation. Founded in 1846, the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) went on to become the largest corporation in the world, and for a time the president of the PRR was widely regarded as even more powerful than the president of the United States.

► *Destruction of the Washington Street Bridge over the Panhandle tracks west of Union Station, Pittsburgh. Manuscript Group 286, Penn Central Railroad Collection. Pennsylvania Railroad Company Library Files.*

Despite the growth of the railroads and the rise of American heavy industry, all was not well with the national economy. From roughly 1873 to 1877, the country experienced a deep financial depression. Railroad workers had already endured a number of depression-related layoffs and wage cuts by the summer of 1877. In July of that year, both the PRR and its chief rival, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O), took even more drastic measures to cut costs. On July 13, the B&O announced a 10 percent wage cut for all employees who earned more than a dollar a day.

The Pennsylvania Railroad had already



twice slashed wages by 10 percent during the year when the company announced in July that it would double the size of all eastbound trains from Pittsburgh without increasing the crew size for each train. This was more than many workers could tolerate, and by July 20 a general strike against many of the nation's railroad companies was in progress.

Violence broke out in many cities including Baltimore, Saint Louis, Reading, and especially Pittsburgh, where the workers on the PRR passed a resolution calling on "all working men to make common cause with their brethren on the railroad." Thousands of workers and Pittsburgh citizens joined the strikers in their protests against the railroad companies. Subsequently, a local militia was called in to restore order. Many militiamen soon sided with the strikers, however, and Governor John Frederick Hartranft had to call in National Guard troops from Philadelphia to quell the unrest. By the time the strike concluded at the end of July, forty people were dead in Pittsburgh with an additional sixty losing their lives in other cities across the nation. Fires set by enraged rioters destroyed thirty-nine buildings, one hundred and four locomotive engines, forty-six passenger cars and over twelve hundred freight cars. The Pennsylvania Railroad claimed over four million dollars in losses.

The damage to the city's railroad facilities was extensive. Manuscript Group 286 contains over thirty images chronicling the aftermath of the riots in Pittsburgh. These two views are some of the best examples of the destruction that occurred on July 21 and 22, 1877. The first, on the previous page, shows the remains of the Washington Street Bridge over the Panhandle tracks west of Union Station. Twisted railroad ties, and burned-out buildings are visible. The second image, above, depicts the ruins at the 21st Street Transfer Station, showing more debris strewn across the rail yard.

Although the strike was not successful in the short term, its long-term implications were far-reaching. It empowered workers to unite



▲ Ruins at the 21st Street Transfer Station, Pittsburgh. Manuscript Group 286, Penn Central Railroad Collection.

in a common cause, setting the stage for union organizing efforts in the following decades. It also set a precedent for violent encounters between labor and capital, with the Homestead Steel Strike in 1892 and the Pullman Strike in 1894 following the same confrontational pattern as the 1877 unrest. Finally, these events cemented Pittsburgh's reputation as a strong union town, a designation that it holds to this day. These photographs are among three photographic series in the Penn Central Collection obtained by the State Archives in 1972 when Penn Central began divesting its holdings.

The Molly Maguires were one of the most ambiguous outlaw groups in American history. During the 1860s and 1870s, the supposed secret society spread violence and fear throughout the anthracite coal regions of northeastern Pennsylvania. In all, there were sixteen murders attributed to the association, as well as countless beatings and acts of intimidation. Many explanations have been put forth attempting to determine if in fact the Molly Maguires was a real organization. Due to the nature of their activities, the Mollies left behind very few records, so the truth will probably never be known. It is a fact that there was a real pattern of Irish violence in Pennsylvania's anthracite fields and, as Kevin Kenny says in his book *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*, "The Molly Maguires may not have been a giant conspiracy, but as a pattern of violence engaged in by a certain type of Irishmen under specific historical conditions, they emphatically did exist."

The Irish origins of the Molly Maguires are one aspect of the group's story that is not a mystery. They came from a line of Irish agrarian violence that centered on the idea of "retributive justice," beginning with the "Whiteboys" in the 1760s, continuing with the "Society of Ribbonmen" in the 1820s and 1830s and finally the Molly Maguires in the 1840s. All three groups were secret organizations bent on revenging those who had been wronged in some way by land agents, policemen, magistrates, small farmers, or tenants. To conceal their identities during an assault, the Mollies painted their faces either black or white and dressed in women's clothing. The origin of the term "Molly Maguire" could quite possibly come from this penchant for cross-dressing. Another explanation for their name is the legend that there was once an old widow named Molly Maguire who was evicted from her home, inspiring her neighbors to launch an attack to avenge her eviction. In any case, all the organization's members pledged their allegiance to a "Miss Molly Maguire," who represented their struggle against injustice.

When the Irish came to the anthracite fields in the late 1840s, the idea of "retributive justice" and the tradition of rural violence came across the Atlantic as well. The term "Molly Maguires" was being used in the anthracite region by nativists as a synonym for Irish social depravity by the late 1850s. The objectionable traits of the "Irish character," according to the nativists, included poverty, drunkenness, insanity, laziness, idolatry, and political corruption. By the 1860s, "a marked propensity for violence" was added to the list, giving the term, Molly Maguires, its full meaning of "evil terrorist conspiracy."

The Molly Maguires were vocal members of two legitimate organizations that received a great deal of criticism for their supposed involvement with the group. The Workingman's Benevolent Association (WBA) was a miners' union founded in the anthracite fields in 1868. During the next few years it grew in strength, but was eventually dissolved after the miners were defeated during the Long Strike of 1875. Six of the Molly Maguire murders were committed during this strike, which led many to believe the Mollies and the union were working together. The WBA's leaders eschewed violence and, even though the union did not support the actions of the Molly Maguires, a few of their members were probably also part of the group. Another organization that eventually became nearly synonymous with the Mollies was the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH). A secretive fraternal organization, scores of Irish miners in the anthracite fields had joined its ranks by the 1860s. When the murders began to occur, many in the area became suspicious of a possible connection between the Mollies and the AOH. While—as with the WBA—there were undoubtedly members of the order who were also part of the Molly Maguires, not all involved with the AOH were in collusion with them.

The sixteen murders attributed to the Molly Maguires took place over a thirteen-year period, from 1862 through 1875. The most famous person in their saga, James McParlan, was not even a member of the organization but an agent for the Pinkerton Detective Agency. He served as an informant for two and a half years before becoming the prosecution's lead witness during the Molly Maguires trials, which took place between 1876 and 1878. Eventually twenty men were hanged between 1877 and 1879 for their involvement in the Molly Maguire murders. Nine men were hung on June 21, 1877, a date known in the coal fields as "Black Thursday."

► *Overleaf: Letter from R. J. Linden, Superintendent of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, supporting a pardon for Christopher Donnelly and Michael O'Brien, convicted of conspiracy and assault and battery with intent to kill on October 16, 1876, for the shootings of William Thomas, George Major, and Gomer James. Donnelly, AOH treasurer for Schuylkill County, was sentenced to two seven-year prison terms for the shootings of the first two men and a two-year term for the third. O'Brien, AOH Bodymaster for Mahanoy City, received a seven-year sentence in the Thomas case, a five-year sentence for the Major shooting and a two-year term for the James murder. R. J. Linden, responsible in part for bringing these men to justice, is here supporting a pardon that would let them out of jail before the end of their prison terms. February 5, 1887. Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Justice, Board of Pardons, Clemency File.*

FOUNDED BY
ALLAN PINKERTON
1850

ROBT. A. PINKERTON, Gen'l Sup't,
Eastern Division, New York.
WM. A. PINKERTON, Gen'l Sup't,
Western Division, Chicago, Ill.
GEO. D. BANGS, Sup't, 66 Exchange Pl., N. Y.
R. J. LINDEN, Sup't, 45 So. Third St., Phil'a.
WM. A. PINKERTON, Sup't,
191 & 193 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.
CLARENCE A. SEWARD, N. Y.
LEWIS C. CASSIDY, Philad'a. } Attorneys for
D. W. MUNN, Chicago, Ill. } the Agency.

**Pinkerton's National
Detective Agency**

WE NEVER SLEEP.

CONNECTED BY TELEPHONE.

JOHN CORNISH, Sup't.

12 & 14 Court Street, Boston, Mass.

Denver, Opera House Block,

CHAS. O. EAMES, Sup't.

Philada. Feb. 5th, 1887.

Thos. H. Walker, Esq.

Atty. at Law, Pottsville, Pa.

Dear Sir :-

I am in receipt of your favor of the 4th inst. in regard to Christopher Donnelly, and Michael O'Brien, and note contents. In reply would say :- I do not see that there can be any objection to the pardon of these men at this time. Having been in prison since May 1876, I think they have been sufficiently punished, and that the ends of Justice have been fully served.

I hope that you may succeed in your efforts, and that nothing will tend to obstruct the favorable action of the pardoning power.

Yours Truly

R. L. Eames

Supt.

To the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor,
Secretary of the Commonwealth, Attorney General,
and Secretary of Internal Affairs, constituting
the Board of Pardons for the Commonwealth
of Pennsylvania;

The undersigned, citizens of the borough of
Shamokin, and the townships contiguous there-
to, in the Northumberland County Coal fields,
respectfully and earnestly pray that, in the case of
John O'Neil, now under sentence of death
for the murder of Frederick Hesser, your
Honorable Board will recommend to the Governor
commutation of sentence from the death penalty
to imprisonment. The reasons therefor are
numerous, and of great weight; they will
be presented to your Honorable Board
by the Rev. Father Soc. Rock, and by
the counsel for the prisoner -

And we will ever pray &c.

A. C. Fulton E. M. Bridge

A. C. Hubach

W. O. Withington

W. J. Mesman

James P. Schwartz

Frederick Lea

W. Withington Lake

Langston & Co.

H. A. Richardson

W. R. Stutzner & Co.

John S. Covert

M. W. Muir & Co.

J. A. Weaver

Sam. Hazley & Co.

Ed. W. Hayley

Elmer H. Heldman

Geo. W. H. H. H.

◀ Pardon Request from the Citizens of the Borough of Shamokin to the Pennsylvania Pardon Board, 1879, asking for pardon for John O'Neil who, along with Peter McManus, was convicted of killing Frederick Hesser, a mine watchman, on December 1, 1874. McManus was executed on October 9, 1879, while O'Neil had his sentence commuted to life in prison, largely because it was determined that he was "feeble minded." Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Justice, Board of Pardons, Clemency File.

Pennsylvania, ss:

J. F. Harttra



IN THE NAME AND BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

JOHN F. HARTTRA

GOVERNOR OF THE SAID COMMONWEALTH

To William J. Matz, Esquire High Sheriff of the County of Schuylkill


Whereas at a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail of Schuylkill held at the Borough of Pottsville, at January Sessions A.D. 1877, was tried upon an Indictment for the crime of Murder, and on the A.D. 1877, was found guilty of Murder in the First Degree, and on the Sixteenth day of April A.D. 1877, sentenced by the said Court, that he be confined in the Jail of the County of Schuylkill from whence he came and from thence be taken to the State Prison at Philadelphia and that he be there hanged by the neck until he be dead.

And whereas a writ of Habeas Corpus was issued from the Supreme Court of the State for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania in favor of John Kehoe, and it was so proceeded in the said Supreme Court, that the sentence of the Court of Oyer and Terminer as aforesaid was affirmed.

Now therefore I, the said Governor, do authorize and require you the said William J. Matz, Esquire, High Sheriff of the County of Schuylkill, to cause the Sentence of the said Court of Oyer and Terminer to be executed upon the said John Kehoe between the hours of 10 o'clock A.M. on Thursday the Eighteenth day of April A.D. One thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven in the manner directed by the Seventy-Sixth Section of the Act of the General Assembly, Approved the Thirty-first day of March A.D. One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven.

John "Black Jack" Kehoe, the alleged ringleader of the Molly Maguires, was born in County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1837. He immigrated with his family to the Pennsylvania anthracite coalfields in 1850, where they settled in Tuscarora, Schuylkill County. Like many other Irish immigrants, Kehoe began his career in the anthracite trade, eventually becoming a miner at the colliery of J. B. McCreary & Company in Audenried, Carbon County. It was during his tenure at Audenried that the murder of Frank W. Langdon took place. Langdon was a mine foreman at the McCreary colliery, and it seems that he and Kehoe had what could be termed an adversarial relationship. In fact, during late May or early June 1862, Kehoe had allegedly threatened to kill Langdon after his pay had been docked.

On June 14, 1862, there was a public meeting held in Audenried to discuss preparations for the upcoming Fourth of July holiday. The country was already more than one year into the Civil War, so patriotic emotions were undoubtedly running high. Throughout this period there was a great deal of animosity between the recent Irish immigrants, who were mostly laborers, and the established English, Welsh, and German miners and bosses. The Irish felt they were being mistreated in the mines, a sentiment similar to one that would be expressed by immigrants from southern and eastern Europe during the 1880s and 1890s. These feelings led to ongoing labor unrest throughout the Civil War period. Anti-draft demonstrations and anti-war rallies were also occurring during the war years. The Irish were one of the groups that resisted the Militia Act of July 17, 1862, and the Conscription Act of March 3, 1863, both of which called for the Commonwealth to draft men for service in the Union Army. Due to their controversial stances on the labor situation and the war, the Irish were perceived by a portion of the general public as treasonous or unpatriotic. So it was in this very chaotic climate that Frank Langdon addressed the assembled crowd at Audenried on June 14, 1862. During his speech, the Irish miners displayed a good deal of anti-union sentiment with one of them, who was later identified as John Kehoe, supposedly spitting on the American flag. Langdon denounced the Irish miners, singling out Kehoe in particular. Witnesses later claimed they heard "Black Jack" utter the words: "You son of a bitch, I'll kill you," after Langdon's speech. Later that day, Langdon was waylaid by a group of men and unmercifully beaten. He died the next day from injuries he received during the attack. It would be nearly fif-

 A portion of the death warrant of John Kehoe, February 27, 1878. Record Group 15. Records of the Department of Justice, Death Warrants File.

ma

Schuylkill
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teen years until an indictment for the crime was handed down.

From 1862 to 1876, John Kehoe lived the life of a successful Irish immigrant. In the mid-1860s, he moved to Mahanoy City and married Mary Ann O'Donnell. He moved his family to Shenandoah in 1870, then to Girardville in late 1871. Kehoe opened taverns in both places, naming his establishment in Girardville the "Hibernia House." He was also very involved in the community, being elected high constable of Girardville for two consecutive terms, as well as Schuylkill County's delegate of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) in August 1874. Ironically, Kehoe's election as AOH delegate probably led to his subsequent indictment for the 1862 murder of Frank Langdon.

During the Molly Maguire trials, which took place between 1876 and 1878, Pinkerton agent and chief prosecution witness James McParlan alleged that the AOH and the Mollies were one and the same. For this reason, the prosecution wanted desperately to charge a high-ranking AOH officer with one of the murders, which they did when Kehoe was indicted for the beating death of Langdon. Kehoe's murder trial became the most highly publicized of all the Molly Maguire trials. He was convicted of first-degree murder on January 16, 1877, and sentenced to death by hanging on April 16, 1877. The case went to the Supreme Court, which upheld the lower court's ruling on October 1, 1877. In April 1878, the Pennsylvania Pardon Board heard his plea for clemency. The Board did not act on the request until September, at which time they deadlocked at two to two. This meant that the case could not be reopened and Kehoe's only recourse was a pardon from Governor John Frederick Hartranft. No pardon was

forthcoming, however, and the second death warrant for John Kehoe was signed on November 21, 1878. On December 17, 1878, a crowd of one hundred and fifty people witnessed his execution, while a crowd of hundreds of miners and colliery workers waited outside the prison in Pottsville, Schuylkill County. "Black Jack" maintained his innocence until the very end, stating on the scaffold "I am not guilty of the murder of Langdon; I never saw the crime committed; I know nothing of it." It took him twelve minutes to die of strangulation.

Interestingly, it seems there were actually two separate death warrants issued for John Kehoe. The document shown on page 134 is the first warrant issued by Governor Hartranft, dated February 27, 1878. The execution was originally supposed to take place on April 18, 1878, "between 10 AM and 3 PM." Since the Pardon Board didn't rule on the case until September of 1878, the execution had to be delayed and it is assumed that this first death warrant became null and void.

In the 1970s, a movement began in Schuylkill County to have a posthumous pardon granted to John Kehoe. Kehoe's granddaughter and great grandson, as well as members of the Pennsylvania Labor History Society were the main proponents of the pardon. On September 6, 1978, Pennsylvania Governor Milton J. Shapp issued a statement that paid tribute to the Molly Maguires and called the trials a miscarriage of justice. On January 11, 1979, the Pennsylvania Board of Pardons recommended a posthumous pardon for Kehoe, which Governor Shapp signed the following day.

*Due to their
controversial stances
on the labor situation and
the Civil War, the Irish
were perceived by a portion
of the general public as
unpatriotic or treasonous.*

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the United States rapidly grew into one of the world's prominent industrialized nations. Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were flocking to the factories, mines and mills of the industrialized northeast and the Pittsburgh district in particular. This rapid influx of foreign-born laborers created tension between the established workforce and the newcomers, tension that would eventually lead to labor unrest.

On the night of December 31, 1890, and afternoon of January 1, 1891, the Edgar Thomson Works, located just east of Pittsburgh in Braddock, was the site of a labor-related confrontation. The steel plant was owned by Andrew Carnegie, who would become famous, or infamous, for his company's role in putting down the Homestead Strike of 1892. Tensions in the region were high for a number of reasons. There was a strike in progress at the mill, as well as a high level of animosity between the recent Slavic immigrants and the well-established Irish portion of the workforce.

As the clock struck midnight on December 31 and rang in the New Year, an assemblage of about one hundred workmen entered the grounds of the steel mill, destroyed some property, and tried to coerce the men who were working into joining their insurrection. Eventually a hastily gathered force of superintendents and company agents repelled the group and within two hours quiet was restored. At noon another group of around one hundred workmen stormed the grounds of the works, but were repulsed once again. By the end of the afternoon, twenty-four men were arrested, with all of them either pleading guilty to or being con-

victed of taking part in the skirmishes. During the second disturbance, Michael Quinn, an employee of the Edgar Thomson Works, was gravely wounded. He died on January 5, the cause of death being a fractured skull, abscess of the brain and internal injuries he received during the riot.

Three men, Andrew Toth, Michael Sabol, and George Rusnak, all Slavic immigrants, were convicted of and sentenced to death for Quinn's murder. The evidence against the men was sketchy at best. Toth admitted that he was drinking and voluntarily took part in the riot at the mill. Sabol claimed he was at the mill but was coerced there by the crowd. Rusnak claimed to have not even been at the mill during the riots. Supposedly there was a Bohemian that strongly resembled Rusnak who went into the mill and left immediately after the riot, never to be seen again. All three claimed they had nothing to do with the murder of Quinn. Initially the public and the newspapers of the region had called for the execution of these men. Eventually, though, the verdict in the case was seen as being prejudiced against the nationality of the men, rather than based on the facts of the case.

Twenty-nine petitions from across the country, all written in both English and several Slavic languages, were presented to the Pennsylvania Board of Pardons, asking it to spare the lives of Rusnak, Sabol, and Toth. The petition on page 138, was signed by hundreds of residents from Homestead, Pennsylvania, a town just down the Monongahela River from Braddock that also had a steel mill which was owned by Andrew Carnegie. The petitions and public outcry over the verdicts were successful, and on September 30, 1897, a pardon was granted to the three men.

To the Pennsylvania Pardon Board:

The undersigned, Slavs and Hungarians, formerly Citizens of Hungary now residing in and near *Homestead, Allegh. Co. Pa.* beg leave to petition Your Honorable Board for action in a case where ANDREW TOTH, MICHAEL SABOL and GEORGE RUSNAK have been sentenced to be hung at Pittsburgh for murder.

We know nothing personally of the facts of the case.

We call your attention however, to the condition of our people before we came to America. Attached to our language, our literature and the history and traditions of our race with a love that has never cooled we were debarred from all participation in public affairs and business.

A great majority of us became servants, hewers of wood and drawers of water, workers in the mills, the mines, the fields and the shops for a compensation which barely allowed us the necessities of life. We could not rise, could not educate our children could not improve our condition. We came to America. We are learning the laws, the language and the customs of the country. We are buying lands, building houses, educating our children and hopefully look forward to the day when we will rise in wealth, intelligence, influence and usefulness to the positions now held here by the people from Scotland, Ireland and Germany.

The hanging of these men will be a terrible blow to our people. If they went into the riot they should suffer to the extent of their guilt, but knowing our people as we do we implore you to carefully consider their case and unless they in fact **did** murder and **intended** to murder, let their lives be saved until in God's own good time he shall call them to a Judgement where there can be no error.

Na pennsylvánsku omilostňujúcu stolicu:

Nížepodpísaní Slováci a Uhri, bývalí občania Uhorska, prítomne usadení v a okolo *Homestead, Allegh. Co. Pa.* osmelujeme sa prosiť etihodnú stolicu za účinnosť v záležitosti ANDREJA TÓTHA, MICHALA SABOLA a JURAJA RUSNÁKA, ktorí pre vraždu odsúdení sú na šibeň v Pittsburgu, Pa.

Osobne nevieme nič o faktách v tomto prípade.

Vašu láskavu pozornosť ale vyzývame na stav nášho národa, kým sa on do Ameriky vysťahoval. Lnúci k našej reči, našej literatúre, histórii a tradícii nášho národa nezlomnou láskou, prekážaní sme boli, súčasťou sa verejných záležitostí a obchodu. Väčšina z nás stala sa sluhami (otrokmi), drevorubačmi, vodonosičmi, robotníkmi vo fabrikách, baňách a na poli za takú nepatrnú odmenu, ktorá ledva dostačila zaobstarat si k životu potrebných článkov. Vynútiť naše deti, slušne vychovať a náš stav polepšiť sme nemohli. Prišli sme do Ameriky. Učíme sa zákonom, reči a obyčajom tejto krajiny. Kupujeme pozemky, stavíme domy, vychovávame naše deti a nádejne hľadáme do budúcnosti, očakávame ten deň, keď povzneseme sa, čo sa týka zámožnosti, vzdelanosti, vplyvu a užitočnosti na to miesto, ktoré zaujímajú teraz ľudia z Škótska, Irska a Nemecka.

Obesenie týchto mužov bude strašnou ranou pre náš národ. Keď sa vzbúry súčasťníci, nech budú trestaní v celej prísnowi za svoj priestupok, znajúc ale našich ľudí, akí sme my, skrušene Vás prosíme, aby ste pozorne rozvážili jích záležitosť a jestli vraždili a zúmyselne vraždu spáchali, zachráňte jích životy až jích Pán Boh povolá pred súd, kde omyl nenie možný.

The events of September 10, 1897, were a defining moment for the labor movement in the anthracite coalfields of Pennsylvania. It was on that day that fifty-eight striking anthracite miners were either killed or injured in an incident that shocked the nation, and came to be known as the "Lattimer Massacre." Throughout August and early September 1897, a strike among miners in the Lehigh coal field had been gaining momentum. It began at the Audenried Colliery of the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company (L & W-B), where young mule drivers were protesting the consolidation of several stables into a single stable. By August 16, around two thousand L & W-B workers had joined the drivers' walk-out. This seemed to embolden workers at other collieries in the Lehigh field, who began walking out over various local issues. The strikers were also unhappy about a daily tax of three cents, which had been approved by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania and imposed on all alien adult male workers. A vast majority of them were recent immigrants from central and eastern Europe, a group that included Slavs, Italians, Hungarians, and Poles. As the strike widened, miners began marching to various collieries in an attempt to persuade or coerce others to join the walkout. The marches were usually successful and by early September, the coal operators were ready to put a halt to them. Sheriff James Martin was contacted by the operators, not by local or state authorities, to quell these demonstrations. He deputized a posse of roughly ninety prominent Hazleton citizens—most of whom were of Irish, English or German descent—to assist in dealing with the miners. The image above, taken on the day of the massacre, depicts striking miners from the Harwood Colliery, which was managed by Calvin Pardee and Company. They were marching to the Lattimer Colliery, which was also owned by the Pardee interests, in hopes of shutting it down. The strikers were unarmed except for the leader of the column who brandished an American flag.



▲ *Column of Striking Miners Marching to Lattimer, Pennsylvania, September 10, 1897. Manuscript Group 273. Charles H. Burg Photographs.*

The marchers started from Harwood around noon, and by two o'clock had reached West Hazleton, where they met Sheriff Martin and a few of his deputies. They were told by the sheriff to disperse, which they refused to do. The group was also told that they could not march through West Hazleton, so the strikers decided to take a more roundabout course to Lattimer. During the march the strikers picked up other striking miners along their route, and by the time the column reached Lattimer, their ranks had swelled to close to four hundred. After the West Hazleton confrontation, Sheriff Martin went back to Hazleton and rounded up his posse, eventually positioning them on the road to Lattimer. The protesters arrived there at 3:00 PM, only to find their route blocked by the sheriff and his deputies, who were all armed with shotguns or rifles. What exactly happened next will probably never be known. It seems possible that the strikers were ordered to halt, which the front of the column did. The sheriff and the deputies claim that Sheriff Martin read the Riot Act, an 1860 law he used to declare a state of disorder due to the march

that day. It appears that some marchers towards the rear of the column did not hear the proclamation, if indeed it was read at all, and kept moving forward, pushing the men in the front towards the deputies. At some point the posse began firing into the unarmed crowd, killing nineteen men and injuring thirty-eight others. Eleven men died at Lattimer, while eight died later at Hazleton Hospital. Many of the strikers were shot in the back while they tried to escape the volley of the deputies' bullets. The photo *below left*, shows a group of men standing on the road in Lattimer where the shooting occurred. In the foreground is a sewer which one of the Hungarian miners crawled through after being shot. The large building to the right in the background is the Lattimer schoolhouse, where the dead and wounded were taken after the incident.

The Lattimer Massacre resulted in organizing gains for the United Mine Workers of America. Its membership would swell to over one hundred and fifty thousand by the time of the major anthracite strike of 1902. In the immediate aftermath of the strike, twenty-five hundred Pennsylvania National Guard troops arrived in the Lehigh coalfields on September 12, and most collieries resumed operations by September 21. Meanwhile, community outrage over the shootings built up to the point where the law enforcement officers were arrested and charged with murder. The Luzerne County grand jury indicted Sheriff Martin and eighty-three deputies on murder charges, and the trial commenced on February 1, 1898. After five weeks and testimony from over two hundred witnesses, the sheriff and his posse were found not guilty.



▲ Sewer through which Hungarian Crawled through after having been Fatally Shot, Showing School House in Distance where the Dead and Wounded were taken, Lattimer, Pennsylvania, September 10, 1897. Manuscript Group 273, Charles H. Burg Photographs

Several rivulets that nourished American varieties of socialism may be traced back through the eighteenth and nineteenth-century experiments in religious communalism. Examples of such early utopian experiments in Pennsylvania include the Harmony Society in western Pennsylvania, Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County and the Snow Hill Nunnery in Franklin County. Socialism aligned with Marxian economic theory, however, first emerges as a secular political movement in America with the formation of the Socialist Labor Party under the leadership of Daniel De Leon in 1877. From 1888, hundreds of loosely organized discussion groups across the country were inspired by the publication of Edward Bellamy's novel *Looking Backward*. The Labor Lyceum in Reading probably derived its original inspiration from this secular utopian current that joined with Marxist economic theory to form an ideology calculated to appeal to the interests of oppressed laborers during the early decades of the twentieth century. Labor organizer Eugene V. Debs emerged as the perennial presidential candidate of the Socialist Party after 1901. At the peak of his influence, Debs succeeded in winning 6 percent of the popular vote in the presidential election of 1912 when one thousand two hundred socialist candidates won election to a variety of state and county offices. America's entrance into the First World War fractured the American Socialist Party just as the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 caused many Americans to question the loyalty of all socialists. Upon Debs' death in 1926, Norman Thomas inspired a brief party revival during the Great Depression. In Pennsylvania this revival reached a peak by 1936 when the *Reading Labor Advocate* achieved a circulation of 9,650.

West Reading 4/8/35
Mr Raymond Hofes.

Dear Comrade must I again live to hear the roar of the Canon again. Is this where Christianity got us. [Is there no hope for us?]

We are so intent on efficiency, money-making and keeping abreast of the times, that we cannot find the leisure to examine ourselves and Nature sufficiently to draw conclusions.

Which way does our future lie? Why do we progress so slowly? After more than 13 Centuries of Mohammedanism, 20 Centuries of Christianity, 25 of Buddhism and Confucianism, and 4000 years of Hebrew religion, we are still greedy, cruel, ~~selfish~~ selfish, shortsighted, and ready to go to war on almost any pretext. we ~~disappoint~~

▲ First page of a letter addressed to the Reading Labor Advocate editor Raymond S. Hofes from Pierce Kersnitz of West Reading, April 8, 1935. Manuscript Group 184, Reading Labor Advocate Records.

The *Reading Labor Advocate* was the official organ of the Socialist Party of Reading and the Federated Trades Council of Reading. The records of the *Reading Labor Advocate* in the State Archives (Manuscript Group 184) contain the minutes of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, 1932-34, and 1936-37, and reports of the Socialist Party of

Pennsylvania, 1932, featuring one of the executive secretary and another on organizational work in the anthracite coal region. Also present is correspondence of such figures as George W. Hartman, Daniel W. Hoan, Jesse Holmes, Sarah Limbach, Jasper McLevy, James O'Neal, Clarence Senior, and Norman Thomas.

2
dissipate in a few months the
savings of decades, the flower of our
youth, and the friendliness it has
taken half a century to build.
After hundreds of years spent in
fostering education and scientific
research, we will throw all our
hard-earned lessons aside in a moment
of anger or rapacity and become
savages again. Is there no hope for
us?

yours
Alice

Pierce Kerensky
104 Second Ave
W Reading
Pa

Excuse mistakes

► Second page of a letter
addressed to the *Reading
Labor Advocate* editor
Raymond S. Hulse from
Pierce Kerensky of West
Reading, April 8, 1935.
Manuscript Group 184,
*Reading Labor Advocate
Records*.

THE PEOPLE'S PRINTING CO.

AUTHORIZED CAPITALIZATION, \$50,000

LABOR LYCEUM

P. O. BOX 913

READING, PA.



DIRECTORS:

Wm. C. Hoverter
Charles Sands
Jacob D. Reber
Geo. W. Snyder
F. W. Goelz

OFFICERS

J. Henry Stump, Pres.
James Stump, Vice Pres.
Birch Wilson, Treas.
C. Wm. Thompson, Sec.

March 15, 1920

Dear Reader:

The working class is going to establish its own printing plant. A plant where it can print its own papers and do a general printing business. We have paid profit to private concerns long enough. The time is here to do our own work in our own plant and save that profit. That profit which we will save will be used to make our papers better and bigger, and in due course of time publish a paper every day in the week. This is what the workers have been talking about for years.

The time for talk has passed.

The time for action is here.

\$50,000 will establish this printing plant.

This \$50,000 is to be raised by May 1st, and The People's Printing Co., has been organized by a group of Reading working people to do it. They want you to read the enclosed leaflet and learn how you may become a member of the company and join in this great undertaking. We are confident that you will want to have a part in this enterprise, and that you will want to interest your friends, and we have enclosed a subscription blank for that purpose. When you have read the leaflet fill out the subscription blank attached to it, and use the enclosed blank to secure the subscription of some friend or neighbor.

This printing plant will be the biggest and most important thing the working class of Reading has ever done for itself. Do not lay this letter aside but act at once so that you may have a part in this great work. Join the Grand Army of Reading's workers to raise \$50,000 for their own printing plant by May 1st.

Yours for success,

THE PEOPLE'S PRINTING CO.,

President.

Secretary.

*Appeal letter
signed by President
J. Henry Stump
and Secretary C.
William Thompson
of The People's
Printing Company,
March 15, 1920.
Manuscript Group
184, Reading
Labor Advocate
Records.*

FOR PRESIDENT

COURT 7963

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



NORMAN THOMAS

SOCIALIST PARTY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

~~613 LYCEUM BUILDING, PENN AVENUE~~

PITTSBURGH, PENN'A

~~14~~

NEW ADDRESS 122 NINTH ST.

October 7, 1933



JAMES H. MAURER

Executive Committee

J. HENRY STUMP
Chairman

SARAH LIMBACH
Secretary

RAYMOND HOFSES

DAVID RINNE

CHARLES SANDS

JOSEPH SCHWARTZ

SIDNEY STARK

JANE W. TAIT

JULIUS WEISBERG

CHARLES YOUNG

ANTON ZORNICK

Raymond Hofses
c/o Reading Labor Advocate
Reed & Court Streets
Reading, Pa.

Dear Comrade Hofses:

We are enclosing herewith receipt in the amount of \$150.00, covering order for 400 regular due stamps, 400 dual stamps and 500 exempt stamps. These stamps will be sent you direct from our National office.

We have today written Bigoney in regard to arranging a meeting with Fred Henderson for Sunday, November 26th. The terms for the meeting are \$20.00 for the entire day, and you could no doubt use him at least twice during his stay.

The National office has offered us a week of dates with Henderson, but unless we can place him for the seven days, it will be impossible to undertake the expense of having him for just a day or so.

We ask that you do everything you can to arrange a meeting with Henderson in Reading, as we are having a rather difficult time placing him, due to the fact that so many of our branches are unable to stand the \$20.00 fee.

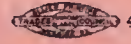
Anything you can do in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Fraternally yours,

Sarah Limbach
Executive Secretary

sl-hm

LABOR LYCEUM ASSOCIATION



READING, PA.

MEMBERSHIP CARD

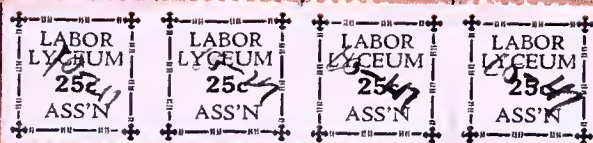
Name Morris D. Kauffman

Address 332 W. 1st Street

Admitted

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YEAR 19 48



YEAR 19

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YEAR 19

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► Morris D. Kauffman's membership card in the Labor Lyceum Association, 1948. Manuscript Group 184, Reading Labor Advocate Records.

The Public's Welfare

1795

The Pennsylvania Turnpike was America's first four-lane long distance superhighway capable of accommodating high-speed and high-volume traffic. The first section was opened in 1940, and it now stretches for 327 miles across the state from Philadelphia to the Ohio border and has a northeastern extension that runs all the way to Scranton. Though it was the nation's first modern superhighway, it was not the first turnpike road in the state.

As a result of complaints heard as early as 1772 from the inhabitants of Lancaster County concerning "the extreme badness of the roads, which are sometimes almost impassable and at all times dangerous and attended with great Delays and Losses," the Pennsylvania Assembly granted its first incorporation charter to a private road company in 1792. The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Company was able to construct a high quality macadamized road using private stock subscriptions (like the one illustrated on the certificate on page 148), where the government had not been able to finance one with taxes. Opened for business in 1794, this first turnpike was praised as a masterpiece of its kind by one English traveler. It was sixty-two miles in length, twenty-four feet wide and was hard-surfaced with tightly packed stones. This "macadam" surface was a vast improvement over the mud-mired earthen roads of the day that at best were "paved" with logs laid widthwise across wet areas. Use of the turnpike, with its toll houses set at ten-mile intervals, reduced travel time between Philadelphia and Lancaster from a week to four days. Traffic was heavy in both directions year-round, especially for the locally designed "land ships" known as Conestoga wagons that hauled produce, manufactured goods and military supplies. These wagons were first used in 1716 to transport furs

along the old Conestoga Road that ran from Logan's Store on the Conestoga Creek, in what would become Lancaster County, to Market Street in Philadelphia. By the 1740s, they had already become the standard conveyance for teamster traffic on the old "King's Highway" between Philadelphia and Lancaster Town.

Inspired by the engineering and financial success of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, many other turnpike companies were formed, both inside and outside of Pennsylvania. The word "turnpike" came into use in reference to these limited access roads because the toll house attendant would turn a wooden pike aside to allow passage after the toll was paid. By 1832, when the toll road era had reached its heyday, there were 220 turnpike companies in the state encompassing 2,400 miles of road, with another projected 600 miles yet to be built. Unfortunately, most of these roads never proved financially successful because their tolls failed to cover their costs. After 1832, more miles of road were abandoned than constructed. The early turnpike movement produced America's first good roads, but turnpikes were eventually displaced by the need to achieve even greater transportation efficiency using railroads and canals.

The invention of the automobile created the need for smoother and better-constructed public roads. As Henry Ford's assembly lines turned out large numbers of affordable automobiles, calls for the decent roads to accommodate them resulted in a boom in road construction across the country. In 1903, Pennsylvania became one of the first states to establish a highway department, and by the 1930s the paving of many miles of existing rural roads had been taken over by the Commonwealth in an effort to "get the farmers out of the mud." In 1937, Pennsylvania became one of the first states in the nation to establish a turnpike



Philadelphia.

March 16. 1795

BE IT HEREBY CERTIFIED, by the President, Managers, and Company of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road, that

John B. Evans & Co.

of the City of Philadelphia

is entitled to

one share of Stock in the said Company, numbered three hundred and fifty five

transferrable in the Presence of the President or Treasurer by the said John B. Evans & Co.

or their Attorney, agreeably to an Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, passed the Tenth Day of April, in the Year of our Lord One thousand, seven Hundred and Sixty two, and the Charter of said Company, sealed with the common seal of the said Company.

Wm. H. Miller Treasurer. Wm. Bingham President.

authority to construct a limited access motorway. Victor Lecoq of the State Planning Board and William Sutherland of the Pennsylvania Motor Truck Association proposed building the new highway on the abandoned railroad bed originally laid out in the 1880s for the old South Pennsylvania Railroad. Financed by William H. Vanderbilt—with the enthusiastic support of Pittsburgh steel baron Andrew Carnegie—the abandoned railroad had been intended to provide direct competition with the Pennsylvania Railroad. Six and a half miles of tunnels had been excavated and 60 percent of the roadbed was finished when New York financier John Pierpont Morgan intervened to negotiate an end to the feud between Vanderbilt and the Pennsylvania Railroad. As a result, construction on the railroad line was abandoned on September 12, 1885. With \$10 million already spent

▲ Stock Certificate on parchment, Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Company, No. 355, March 16, 1795. Manuscript Group 2, Business Records Collection.

on the project, and twenty-six casualties having resulted, many of those who worked on the grading and excavation were embittered that their hard work had come to naught. One engineer remarked, “here, for the time being, and probably for a long time to come, is smothered the best line of railroad between the Ohio Valley and the Atlantic that has ever been or can be projected, built or operated.” His estimation of the workmanship was borne out in the 1930s, when surveyors for the Pennsylvania Turnpike selected the overgrown roadbed for their own, agreeing that it was “the best route ever devised between the ocean and Ohio.” The photograph right, of the Blue Mountain tunnel taken

in 1938 depicts one of the tunnels excavated in the mid-1880s for the old South Pennsylvania Railroad. The abandoned roadbed and tunnels had by then become known as “Vanderbilt’s Folly.”

Lecoq and Sutherland sought federal funding for the turnpike project as a form of work relief during the Depression, and State Representative Clifford S. Patterson of Monongahela, who was personally familiar with the winter hazards of commuting over the Appalachian Mountains on the old winding Route 30, strongly supported the idea. House Resolution No. 138 of April 23, 1935, proposed a feasibility study and the media began calling the proposed road “the weather-proof tunnel highway” and the “forget-the-weather highway.” The quest for federal monies resulted in funding for both an employment project and a construction project. Groundbreaking commenced on October 27, 1938, on a farm near Shippensburg. The first 160-mile segment of the Pennsylvania Turnpike between Carlisle and Irwin opened in October 1940. The new limited access highway boasted four twelve-foot-wide lanes, a maximum 3 percent grade, and with curves no greater than 3 percent, was designed to accommodate speeds of ninety miles per hour. Though many of the turnpike’s design features had already been incorporated into Germany’s Autobahn, the only place many Americans had seen such a highway before was at General Motors’ *Futurama* exhibit at the 1939 World’s Fair where sixteen million people lined up to ride through a miniature diorama depicting a vision of life in 1960. The diorama depicted thousands of tiny cars speeding along limited access superhighways.

Not only did the turnpike provide much needed employment, it also proved to be a financial success by quickly covering its costs from the tolls collected. This early profitability encouraged New York and New Jersey, among other states, to commence building their own turnpikes and provided fresh impetus to proposals for constructing a national network of interstate highways during the 1950s.

► The eastern portal of the original Blue Mountain tunnel, standing overgrown and abandoned in Franklin County, August, 1938. Photograph No. 14862. Record Group 12, Records of the Department of Highways. Photographic Unit’s File of Mounted and Unmounted Prints, [ca. 1915–32].





*The only place
many Americans
had seen
such a highway
before was at
General Motors'
Futurama
exhibit at the
1939 World's Fair.*

★ Postcard prepared by publishing
department of Howard Johnson's
Restaurant, ca. 1960s, showing an
aerial view of the Pennsylvania
Turnpike's Donegal Interchange in
Westmoreland County. On the reverse
side of the card, the turnpike is touted
as "The World's Greatest Highway."
Manuscript Group 213, Postcard
Collection, Subject File.

1834

Educating Pennsylvania citizens was not considered a duty of the Commonwealth until the mid-nineteenth century. In passing the Common School Act of 1834, Pennsylvania led the nation in providing free public education for its children. Prior to the act, elementary education had been a private affair for those Pennsylvanians that could afford to send their children to private schools or to hire a tutor. The State Constitution of 1790 first provided education for the poor at public expense. In 1809, the “Pauper School Act” allowed counties to offer free education for children whose parents could not afford to pay. Reluctance at being labeled paupers, however, kept many families from enrolling their children for funding under the program. By 1834, the General Assembly and Governor George Wolf were ready to pass a comprehensive common school law. At the opening of the 1833–34 session of the General Assembly, Governor Wolfe proclaimed: “It is time, fellow citizens, that the character of our State be redeemed from the state of supineness and indifference under which its most important interest, the education of its citizens, has so long been languishing.”

Senator Samuel Breck of Philadelphia stated that his sole purpose for serving in the General Assembly was to establish free public schools. Though his bill for a system of public schools passed unanimously in both House and Senate, the passage of the law brought strong reactions from many Pennsylvanians. Some religious organizations that had established their own school systems were opposed to free public education and many wealthier parents were content with the status quo. German-speaking citizens feared that public schools would undermine their culture and language. Legislators elected for the 1834–35 session threatened to repeal the bill in the Senate but Thaddeus Stevens, at the risk of alienating his strong base among German voters, gave such a stirring oration in the Assembly that he convinced the majority of legislators of the importance of having an educated electorate. The Common School Act of 1834 was saved with only minor changes. Under the law, citizens living within existing townships, boroughs, or wards could decide whether or not to join the new school system and, if they chose to do so, could elect their own local school board to establish the local school tax rate and eligibility to receive state funding. The act contained some provisions on the qualifications for teachers but left it to the school districts themselves to administer certification. In 1854,

another school act was passed adding additional requirements for teacher certification that nonetheless remained under local control.

The passage in 1857 of the Normal School Act provided for the creation of a total of twelve normal schools (named from the French *École Normale* teacher-training colleges) across the state having uniform admission, curriculum, and graduation requirements. When Thomas H. Burrowes, the first superintendent of Public Schools, was reappointed as superintendent in 1860, one of his first goals was to raise the standards for certifying teachers and make those standards more uniform across the entire state. A well-known educator and politician, Burrowes had served as a member of the House of Representatives from Lancaster (1831–33), secretary of the Commonwealth (1835–39), and was the author of books on Pennsylvania geography, history, government, and school architecture. He was also appointed state agent to devise the organization for soldiers orphans schools and homes in 1864. When he returned to the superintendent’s office in 1860, he realized that many certified teachers had moderate to little training. In 1867, he implemented a more rigorous set of standards for certification of teachers requiring “a fair knowledge of Orthography, Reading, Writing, Geography, English Grammar, Mental and Written Arithmetic and History of the United States and the Theory of Teaching.”

The revision of the certification process terminated previously issued “Professional Certificates” and required teachers to apply for a “Permanent Certificate” which reflected the more stringent standards. In the *School Journal*, the official newsletter of the department, Dr. Burrowes stated that with the development of the new certification process he had “the privilege as well as the duty of taking the first effectual steps toward rendering the teacher’s certificate what it should be, an evidence of full qualification and permanent standing in a learned profession.” By 1874, public schools were available to all elementary-aged children in Pennsylvania and in 1893 free textbooks were also provided. By 1895, state funding was extended to two-year high schools as well, and school attendance became mandatory for children between the ages of eight and thirteen. The application of a teaching certificate for Mrs. Laura Gardner on page 153 shows that she had taught in the common school in Derrick City for a total of four annual school terms and was recommended to the state superintendent as “morally, intellectually and professionally qualified” to receive a permanent teaching certificate.

An Act to establish a General System of Education by Common
Schools

Whereas it is enacted by the
Constitution is a solemn duty which cannot be neglected without a disregard
of the moral and political safety of the people And Whereas the fund for common
School purposes under the act of the second of April One thousand eight hundred
and thirty one will on the fourth of April next amount to the sum of four
hundred and forty six thousand five hundred and sixty three dollars and seventy
two cents and will soon reach the sum of five millions of dollars when it will
produce at five per cent an interest of One hundred thousand dollars which by
said act is to be paid for the support of Common Schools. And Whereas
provisions should be made by law for the distribution of the benefit of this fund
to the people of the respective Counties of the Commonwealth.

Thence

Application for Permanent Certificate.

No. 1.

March 8th 1900

To Mr. N. Shafer,

Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Sir:—At a meeting of the Board of School Directors of Hazlet School District, McKean county, State of Pennsylvania, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That Mrs. Laura Gardner, whose address is Derrick City P.O., McKean county, Pa., having taught a Common School in this district for four annual school terms, we take pleasure in saying that we consider her well qualified as a teacher, morally, intellectually, and professionally.

Resolved, That we recommend the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to grant the above-named Laura Gardner a Permanent Certificate.

J. D. Snyder
Secretary.

H. Egbert
President.

No. 2.

189

At a meeting of the Board of School Directors of _____ School District, _____ county, State of Pennsylvania, it was Resolved, That _____ having taught a Common School in this District for _____ annual school term, we cordially unite in the recommendation expressed in the preceding resolution.

Secretary.

President.



▲ Oldest dated paper photograph at the Pennsylvania State Archives showing the attendees of the meeting of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, Philadelphia, May 20, 1851, photographic print by William and Frederick Langenheime.

It was transferred to the State Archives in 1988 from the Harrisburg State Hospital. It is unknown how the hospital obtained it. Badly faded and stained, some of the subjects are difficult to recognize, due to blurring from their slight move-

ments during the long exposure time required by early cameras. The men are finely dressed as befitting their social status and are posed against a wooden fence, possibly in the yard of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. The exposure was made outdoors using natural light, as the science of photography as yet possessed little means of controlling sunlight or creating artificial light. Dr. Thomas Kirkbride is seated in the front row, fifth from left, and Dr. Curwen in the back row, second from left. Record Group 23, Records of the Department of Public Welfare.

1851

Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride (1809–83) is a seminal figure in the history of the treatment of the mentally ill in America. A Philadelphia Quaker, Dr. Kirkbride and other mid-nineteenth century social welfare reformers such as Dorothea Dix and Horace Mann promoted a humane approach, including the philosophy that insanity was a sickness, and the mentally ill should be given the same considerations as those with physical ailments. Prior to this, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the indigent insane were often relegated to county and city poorhouses under horrifying conditions, or kept in prisons along with criminals. Beginning about 1830, American social welfare reformers began treating the insane as patients rather than prisoners and provided healthier surroundings. As superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane in Philadelphia, Dr. Kirkbride designed asylum buildings and landscapes as therapeutic places for patients, with open green grounds, fresh air, and gardens. A central administrative building having linear wings for patients arranged in an echelon style became known as the “Kirkbride Plan” and influenced the design and construction of asylums in many other states, including the Pennsylvania State Lunatic Asylum (now Harrisburg State Hospital), which admitted its first patient in October 1851. Dr. Kirkbride served on the first Board of Trustees of the Pennsylvania State Lunatic Asylum, and his protégé, Dr. John Curwen, served as the first superintendent.

In 1844, Dr. Kirkbride and his counterparts around the country organized the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane. This pioneering group was the first medical specialty organization in the nation, formed three years before the American Medical Association, and evolved into what is now the American Psychiatric Association. Consisting of prominent mental health specialists and leaders of various asylums around the country, the association met annually to discuss current issues. For several days in May of 1851 they met at Philosophical Hall of the American Philosophical Society at Fifth and Chestnut Streets in Philadelphia presenting papers, discussing association business, and touring the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. They also adopted several propositions for mental hospital construction and management authored by Dr. Kirkbride that served as their official canon until a few years after his death in 1883.

On May 20, the attendees toured the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane and sat for a portrait produced by the new process of photography. A cursive inscription on the front reads, “from life by W. and F. Langenheim May 20, 1851.” This fragile, faded image of the members of the Association is the oldest photographic paper print among the holdings of the State Archives. The brothers William and Frederick Langenheim, originally from Germany, operated photography galleries in Philadelphia and were instrumental in introducing several technological processes to America including stereography, the lantern slide, and the positive paper print. This last process produced an image from a paper negative. The negative, after creation via a camera, would be secured in a holder against a sheet of light-sensitized paper of the same size. The holder would be placed in sunlight for a period of time to produce a positive image on the sensitized paper. By 1860, this basic negative/positive process, with occasional modifications, came to dominate the commercial photographic industry for the next one hundred and forty years. Prior to this, photographers most often used the daguerreotype process introduced by Louis Daguerre in 1839. The daguerreotype consisted of a sheet of silver-plated copper coated with light sensitive chemicals and exposed in a camera. It produced one image, a positive, which could only be copied by re-photographing. William Henry Fox Talbot of Great Britain pioneered the positive/negative paper process during the 1830s. The Langenheim brothers purchased directly from Talbot the American patent rights to the process for producing the “Talbotype.”

Dr. Kirkbride had a strong association with the Langenheims, so it is not surprising they are the photographers for this particular image. Their exhibition gallery was on Chestnut Street above Fifth, close to Philosophical Hall where the association convened in 1851. Dr. Kirkbride also believed photography could be used as a means of therapy and entertainment for his patients. He reasoned that rational perceptions and thought could be encouraged in the mentally ill by exposing them to interesting and pleasing images. For this he used the Langenheims’ lantern slide process they had patented in 1850 for group therapy at his hospital. The lantern slide, an early form of photographic projection, was a positive image on glass. Kirkbride provided lantern slide shows for his patients including guest lecturers on travelogues, history, and temperance.

Registration of Marriages in the County of Perry

1854, eighteen hundred and fifty four

State of Pennsylvania,

No 84	Marriage of	and	No 90	Marriage of	and
1 Full name of husband,	William Lesh		Jacob Hock		
2 Name of the father of said husband	Elizabeth H. Black		Mary Smith		
3 Name of the mother of said husband	William Lesh		Jacob Hock		
4 Occupation of husband,	Peter Lesh		Adam Hock		
5 Residence of husband,	Constance Lesh		Christiana Hock		
6 Birth place of husband,	Millwright		Laborer		
7 Full name of wife previously to marriage	Summit Township Perry Co Pa		Summit Township Perry Co Pa		
8 Name of the father of said wife,	Spring Township Centre Co Pa		Shrewsbury Twp 60 Pa		
9 Name of the mother of said wife,	Elizabeth H. Black		Mary Smith		
10 The time when the marriage was contracted	Robinson Black		Peter Smith		
11 The place, town or township and county where contracted	Elizabeth Black		Mary M. Smith		
12 Color	January 10 th 1854		January 10 th 1854		
13 By what ceremony contracted,	August Perry Co Pa		Summit Township Perry Co Pa		
14 Name of person performing marriage	White		White		
15 Residence of person last named,	German Reformed Church ceremony		German Reformed Church		
16 Name of person signing certificate	Samuel Huber Minister		Samuel Huber Minister		
17 Date of certificate,	Blomfield Perry Co Pa		Blomfield Perry Co Pa		
18 Date of registration,	Samuel Huber Minister		Samuel Huber Minister		
19 Signature of the register or his deputy	12 th January 1854		13 th January 1854		
	12 th January 1854		13 th January 1854		
	Noted H. by H. by H. by		Noted H. by H. by H. by		

Marriage records from Perry County, 1854. Record Group 26. Records of the Department of State. Secretary of the Commonwealth. Record and Indexes of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

No 91	Marriage of	and	No 92	Marriage of	and
1 Full name of husband,	Andrew Bartley		James McNeil		
2 Name of the father of said husband	Susan Hoff		Margaret Fane		
3 Name of the mother of said husband	Andrew Bartley		James McNeil		
4 Occupation of husband,	William Bartley		James "		
5 Residence of husband,	Martha Bartley		Hesie "		
6 Birth place of husband,	Farmer				
7 Full name of wife previously to marriage	Smith Township Perry Co Pa		Perry Co		
8 Name of the father of said wife,	South Township Perry Co Pa		Perry Co		
9 Name of the mother of said wife,	Susan Hoff		Margaret Fane		
10 The time when the marriage was contracted	John Hoff		John "		
11 The place, town or township and county where contracted	Martha Hoff		Elizabeth "		
12 Color	10 th January 1854		12 th January 1854		
13 By what ceremony contracted	Smith Township Perry Co Pa		Barrett Township Perry Co		
14 Name of person performing marriage	White		White		
15 Residence of person last named,	Justice ceremony		Perry Co		
16 Name of person signing certificate	Henry Howe		Barrett Township Perry Co		
17 Date of certificate,	Smith Township Perry Co Pa		Barrett Township Perry Co		
18 Date of registration,	Henry Hock Justice		Barrett Township Perry Co		
19 Signature of the register or his deputy	12 th January 1854		14 th January 1854		
	12 th January 1854		16 th January 1854		
	Noted H. by H. by H. by		Noted H. by H. by H. by		

1854

The registration of vital statistics was the exception rather than the rule in Pennsylvania before January 1, 1906. While many states had the foresight early on to mandate the collection of birth, death, and marriage information, Pennsylvania had no comprehensive system in place in its early history. Early attempts included very brief provisions within the Duke of York's Laws, the Laws Agreed Upon in England of 1682, and the Great Body of Laws passed later the same year, but these produced few results. Throughout the eighteenth century and into the early part of the nineteenth century, there was little mention of vital statistics registration in Pennsylvania law. However, by the mid-nineteenth century lawmakers began to recognize a need for the registration of vital statistics throughout the growing Commonwealth.

Beginning in 1852, the Register of Wills for each county was mandated to keep records and indexes of all births, deaths, and marriages occurring within the county. It was the duty of all physicians, clergy, aldermen, justices of the peace, sextons, or undertakers in attendance at any birth, death, or marriage within the county to submit, in certificate form, all pertinent information regarding that event to the Register of Wills. The Register would then record all such information in separate books in his office and each January and July was to submit a copy of the records for his county, together with a copy of the indexes, to the Secretary of Commonwealth, who would file them in his office. Due to widespread non-compliance and the financial burden that was placed upon county Registers of Wills, the act requiring the registrations was repealed in January 1855. For these reasons, the surviving records are by no means inclusive.

Shortly thereafter, Pennsylvania municipalities also got into the business of registering vital statistics within their boundaries. The state legislature, through several acts passed from 1860 through 1889, authorized cities of certain classes to establish Boards of Health that, among other duties, would be empowered to establish and enforce a complete and accurate system for registering vital statistics within the city. For example, the cities of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Allentown were all authorized to set up Boards of Health under separate statutes between the years 1860 and 1873. The City of Johnstown was incorporated as a third class city in 1889 under the provisions of a legislative act that also authorized such cities to establish Boards of Health and regulate the registration of vital statistics.

Municipalities that had established their own system of keeping track of births, deaths, and marriages seemed to have done an effective job of complying with the rules that individual Boards of Health established. The records from the City of Johnstown, for instance, are a more complete and accurate depiction of the births, deaths, and marriages that occurred within the city than the records from the county-based attempt at registration from the 1852–54 time period. Despite this success, with the state taking over responsibility for the registration of all births and deaths in 1906, the burden of keeping such information at the municipal level was alleviated. However, in practice, several city Boards of Health continued to compile vital statistics for inhabitants of their cities until 1915, when all earlier registration acts were officially repealed and “no system for the registration of births and deaths was to be continued or maintained in any of the several municipalities of the Commonwealth.”

In June 1885, the Clerks of the Orphans' Court at the county level were given the responsibility of issuing all marriage licenses throughout the state, and the process of applying for and receiving marriage licenses in Pennsylvania is still conducted within that county office today. Incidentally, this system worked so efficiently that in June 1893, the legislature also tried giving the county Clerks of Orphans' Court the responsibility of keeping birth and death registers as well. However, many individuals failed to comply with this regulation, leaving very sketchy and incomplete birth and death records for many counties from 1893–1905. The responsibility for the compilation of such data throughout the state, for the first time in Pennsylvania history, was shifted over to the state level with the creation of the state Department of Health in May 1905. Commencing in 1906, all records of births and deaths were recorded at the department's Central Bureau of Vital Statistics in Harrisburg, and this registration continues on a state-run basis today through the Division of Vital Records, now located in New Castle.

Anyone who has legal, genealogical, or statistical inquiries concerning the pre-1906 era in Pennsylvania has to rely on a limited amount of official records, or has to search through such unofficial sources as church records, family Bibles, newspapers, census records, or gravestone inscriptions to try to substantiate birth, death, and marriage information. The small number of official records that were compiled and retained can nonetheless prove invaluable to genealogists and historical researchers. The

marriage record on page 156 was certified by the Register of Wills of Perry County and forwarded to the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Not only does marriage record No. 91 show that Andrew Barkley married Susan Shoff on January 10, 1854, but it also supplies the place of the marriage, the type of marriage ceremony, the occupation and residence of the husband, the race

of the couple, and the names of the couples' parents. Such additional information is a true treasure trove for genealogists and often provides new avenues for solving genealogical roadblocks. The death register from the City of Johnstown *left*, is a prime example of how vital statistical information can also be used for more than just genealogical purposes. The register provides the

names of the deceased, gender, race, age at death, marital status, date and cause of death, nationality of the deceased, and provides residence and interment information—all wonderful genealogical information. But, by further browsing through the register, it is also interesting to note that in July 1892 seventeen infants died as a result of "Cholera Infantum," a disease which affects children living in hot, humid, unsanitary conditions. An inquisitive researcher looking for insight into the living conditions at the time within the City of Johnstown can extract this type of information, and much more, from these early records, that were originally created for a completely separate purpose.

289
Name, Mary Shas
Sex, Female
Color, White
Age, 10 mos
Married or Single, Single
Date of Death, July 30, "1892
Cause of Death, Cholera Infa
Nationality, American
Occupation, None
Date of Certificate, July 31
J. B. Dyer M. D.
Residence, City
Interment, Lower Goden

240
Name, Mary Plaff
Sex, Female
Color, White
Age, 4, 7/11
Married or Single, Single
Date of Death, July 31, "1892
Cause of Death, Cholera Infa
Nationality, American
Occupation, None
Date of Certificate, July 31
J. B. Dyer M. D.
Residence, City
Interment, Gristown

291
Name, Gerald M^e Hugh
Sex, Male
Color, White
Age, 1 Year
Married or Single, Single
Date of Death, July 31, "1892
Cause of Death, Cholera Infa
Nationality, American
Occupation, None
Date of Certificate, July 31
J. B. Dyer M. D.
Residence, City
Interment, Lower Goden

◀ Death records from the City of Johnstown, 1892. Record Group 48, Records of the Municipal Governments, City of Johnstown Board of Health, Death Records.

1893

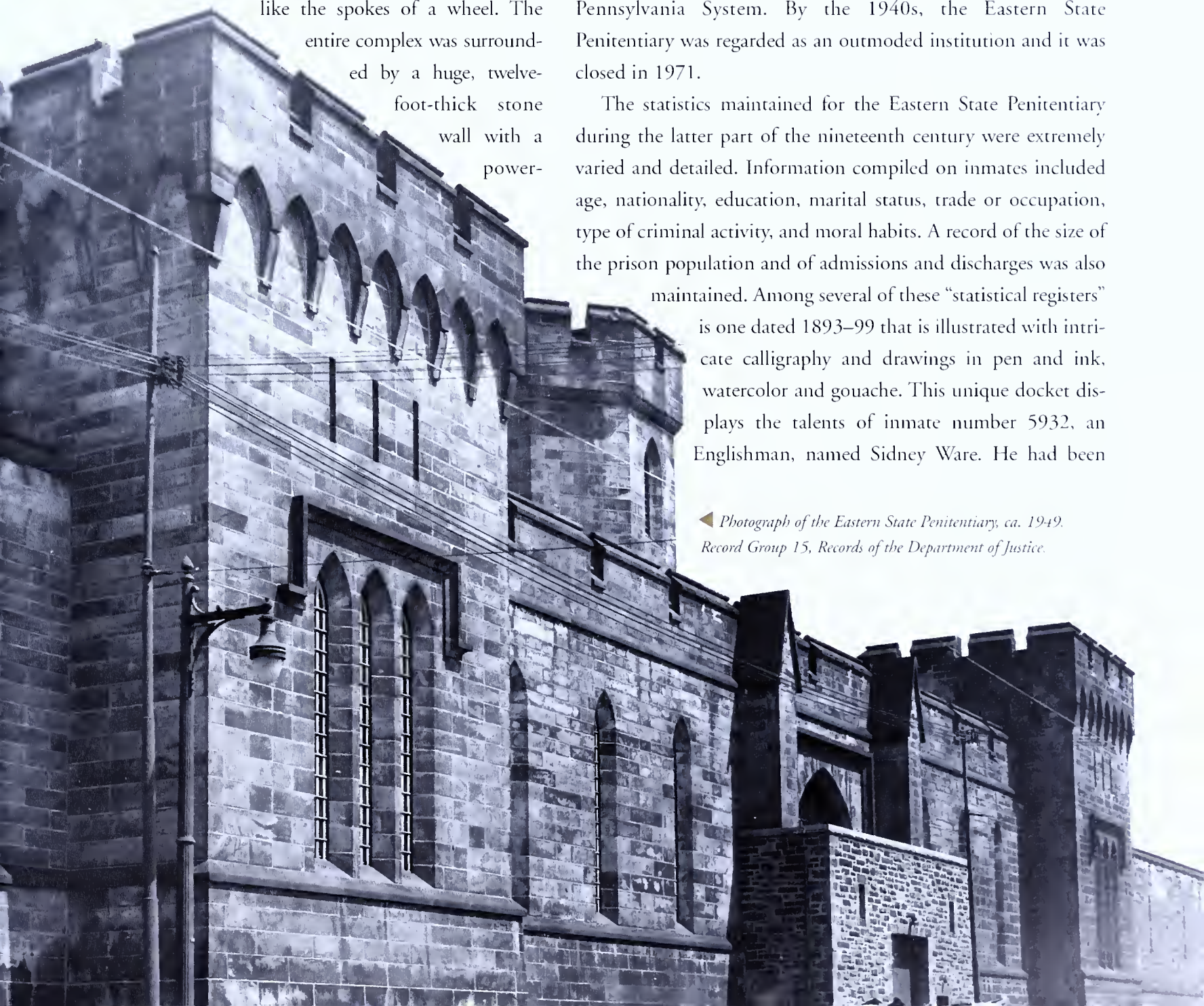
During the colonial period, prison offenders were incarcerated in one-room jails that were frequently overcrowded and unsanitary, as well as infamous for exposing inmates to morally depraved conditions. Those convicted of offenses were also frequently subject to whipping, branding, or having their ears cut off. What came to be known as the “Pennsylvania System,” introduced the idea of the penitentiary as a place where inmates could be rehabilitated through expressing penitence for their crimes. Completed in Philadelphia in 1836, the Eastern State Penitentiary represented a new Quaker-inspired philosophy of punishment and reform as well as a radical new concept in penal architecture.

British architect, John Haviland designed a central rotunda with seven cellblocks radiating outward like the spokes of a wheel. The entire complex was surrounded by a huge, twelve-foot-thick stone wall with a power-

ful entrance structure modeled after a crenellated castle. Solitary reflection and industrious labor were the primary focus of the Pennsylvania System of reform. Prisoners were not only isolated but also stripped of all identity and referred to only by their assigned number. Inmates were expected to engage in some type of work such as shoemaking, weaving, or carpentry which could be done in their cells. It was hoped that the combination of industrious labor and enforced solitude would bring about the moral reform of those who had transgressed the laws of society. From the beginning, the system had many critics, including Charles Dickens who argued that solitary confinement was “immeasurably worse than any torture of the body.” By the latter half of the nineteenth century, overcrowding and the passage of uniform labor laws had undermined the key concepts of the Pennsylvania System. By the 1940s, the Eastern State Penitentiary was regarded as an outmoded institution and it was closed in 1971.

The statistics maintained for the Eastern State Penitentiary during the latter part of the nineteenth century were extremely varied and detailed. Information compiled on inmates included age, nationality, education, marital status, trade or occupation, type of criminal activity, and moral habits. A record of the size of the prison population and of admissions and discharges was also maintained. Among several of these “statistical registers” is one dated 1893–99 that is illustrated with intricate calligraphy and drawings in pen and ink, watercolor and gouache. This unique docket displays the talents of inmate number 5932, an Englishman, named Sidney Ware. He had been

◀ *Photograph of the Eastern State Penitentiary, ca. 1949. Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Justice.*



[illegible]

◀ *An illustrated page by prisoner Sidney Ware from a Statistical Register 1893-99, Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Justice Eastern State Penitentiary. Statistical Books.*

convicted of murder in 1890 for the death of Morris Miller, one of two men killed in a barroom brawl in Lykens. Although he was condemned to be hanged, his sentence was commuted to life in prison and in 1891 he entered the Eastern State Penitentiary. This young man, only twenty-two when he was incarcerated, was a model prisoner and at once became a pet of the warden, who allowed him to maintain the prison's statistical records. There being few outlets available in captivity to an educated and artistic man, Ware took advantage of this opportunity to decorate the register he was working on with poignant vignettes including the scene on the opposite page he entitled "crime cause."

During the years he spent behind bars, Ware learned the machinist's trade and also "dabbled" in music as well as art. He petitioned the governor for pardon several times, and his case attracted the attention of a number of important figures, including George Wharton Pepper and Mrs. Johns Hopkins, who campaigned strenuously for his release. Sidney Ware finally received his pardon from Governor John K. Tener in 1911. He was forty-five, and had served twenty years in prison, an example—as he himself said—"of a convict who has made good and on whom the modern, humane management of the Eastern State Penitentiary has not been entirely wasted."



▲ Another illustration by prisoner Sidney Ware on a page in a *Statistical Register 1893–99*. Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Justice Eastern State Penitentiary. *Statistical Books*.

Harrisburg, Pa., October 29th, 1910.

Mr. F. Herbert Snow,
Chief Engineer,
State Department of Health.

859

Dear Sir:-

I have the honor to submit the following report of the epidemic of typhoid fever at Lime Ridge, September and October of 1910.

Lime Ridge is located in Center Township, Columbia County about midway between Bloomsburg and Berwick and between the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad and the Susquehanna River,, or about seven miles north of Bloomsburg, the county seat of Columbia County. The population is about 250, comprised mostly of a laboring class who find employment largely in Bloomsburg and Berwick. A few are employed in a lime quarry which is located near the village. The village consists of 83 private dwellings, two general stores, ^{the} D.L. & W. Railroad station, two churches, a P.O.S. of A. hall and a hotel.

Mr. Beckley and myself arrived in Lime Ridge in the afternoon of September 29th, 1910, and immediately started to investigate the cause of the typhoid fever outbreak. We were informed that there were 28 to 30 cases supposed to be typhoid fever. The people were greatly alarmed and seemed very anxious and ready to give all information desired by the State Health authorities.

In the past this village had been quite free from disease

1910

Though epidemics, pollution, poor housing, and unsatisfactory working conditions have always plagued Pennsylvania, it was not until the dawn of the twentieth century that the Commonwealth was seen as responsible for ensuring the public health of all of its citizens. Philadelphia's Yellow Fever epidemic in the 1790s has been well documented and cleared the way for that city to establish a board of health. Though Philadelphia succeeded in significantly improving the purity of its water supply, the city nonetheless had a difficult time keeping up with the demands placed on the system by a growing population. To assist the rest of the Commonwealth in creating a healthful environment, on April 3, 1851, Pennsylvania's General Assembly passed a nuisance law which empowered boroughs to "make such regulations as may be necessary for the health of the borough." Unfortunately, few boroughs took advantage of this opportunity. The Civil War heightened the awareness of the importance of proper sanitation in preventing the spread of disease, since vastly more people died of disease during the war than of battle wounds. After the war, cities across the United States began a concerted effort to clean up their water supplies and develop modern sewer systems. In 1874, Dr. Henry Bowditch, Dean of Harvard's Medical school, published *Public Hygiene in America* and his lecture circuit brought him to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh where he greatly influenced those interested in public health. Dr. Bowditch argued that in order for any advances to be made in sanitation, the state needed to have control over public health issues.

On May 23, 1874, the legislature again tried to empower municipalities and all towns of ten thousand to thirty thousand citizens to appoint boards of health to abate nuisances, inspect food, pass regulations in the interest of public health, inspect the condition of properties, appoint health officials and district physicians, and gather information on sanitary inquiries. Once again, local control of health issues failed to significantly alleviate the problem. By 1886, of 574 incorporated municipalities, only eleven had actually created local boards of health. A serious typhoid epidemic in Plymouth Township, Luzerne County in 1884 was the catalyst for creating a state Board of Health to investigate and control epidemics. Within a population of eight thousand people, there were 1,100 cases of typhoid and 114 deaths in Plymouth township. The cause was tracked to one typhoid carrier who infected the entire community because of

poor sanitary conditions. The creation of this new state Board of Health encouraged the formation of more local boards and by 1893 there were 417 such local boards of health across the Commonwealth.

The Department of Health was created by the Act of April 27, 1905, to replace the state Board of Health and Vital Statistics that was originally established in 1885. The department has the authority to enforce all statutes pertaining to public health. Dr. Samuel G. Dixon served as the first commissioner of Health and it was during his tenure that the Bureau of Sanitation Engineers submitted the first of these sanitation reports. Local boards remained reluctant to report outbreaks of disease to the state, but when they did the Department of Health sent out investigators to find the source of the outbreak. Such early reports most frequently relate to outbreaks of typhoid fever and reveal the condition of the local water supplies and the raw fruits, vegetables and milk products consumed by victims, as well as breakdowns of the victim population by age group and by occupation. The reports also often provide information on Sunday school picnics or athletic association gatherings where ice cream or other meals were served. Ethnicity and race were sometimes noted as well as whether families were familiar with common sanitary practices. The reports detail the type of water systems used, how the water companies filtered their water and the location of wastewater runoff. The reports often contain annotations in the side margins, possibly by Dr. Dixon himself.

The report on the opposite page documents an outbreak of typhoid fever in Lime Ridge, Columbia County during September and October of 1910. Nestled between the tracks of the Delaware, Lehigh, and Western Railroad and the Susquehanna River, the village of Lime Ridge consisted of about ninety buildings inhabited by 250 people, mostly laborers employed in nearby Bloomsburg and Berwick. The epidemic apparently began with a dairy farmer's ailing mother and spread to his creamery facilities, then to another dairy farm, and from there by means of forty to fifty quarts of milk and cream to a purchaser in Lime Ridge who operated a community ice cream parlor. Approximately four-fifths of the village's inhabitants consumed the contaminated ice cream during the course of a weekend. Forty-one cases of typhoid fever resulted among thirty separate families and a total of sixty-nine documented or suspected cases were eventually reported in the village and its environs. Two of the victims died from the disease.

In 1923, the Sanitary Water Board was established to issue permits for construction of sewer systems and water works. By the Great Depression, much headway had been made with municipal water systems and providing clean water in urban areas, but rural areas did not fare so well. Under the Civilian Works Program, the Department of Health was given a Public

Health Service Grant to promote the construction of privies for coal patch towns and other rural areas and to seal abandoned bituminous mines to stop acid run-off. In 1971 the Department of Environmental Resources was formed to take over both the Department of Health's air and water quality responsibilities.



◀ Photographs of nurse and ambulance staff assigned to assist victims and the laundry set up in the stable of the Patriotic Order, Sons of America to assist victims with sanitization, from page 13 of Sanitary Engineering Report concerning outbreak of typhoid fever in Pine Ridge, Columbia County, October 29, 1910. Record Group 11, Records of the Department of Health, Sanitary Engineers' Epidemic Reports.



JOSEPHINE & AMBULANCE STAFF.
Members of P.O. S.A.

INFECTED ICE CREAM BRINGS TYPHOID EPIDEMIC TO WHOLE PENNSYLVANIA VILLAGE; WOMAN THE HERO

State Health Department Officials Find Cream Used Was Polluted by Typhoid Case Miles Away.

Woman Started Movement For Hospital and Secures Supplies—Residents Taught What to do.

Special Despatch to "The Press."

Harrisburg, Nov. 12.—Forty-one residents of the village of Lime Ridge, in Columbia County, stricken down with typhoid fever from eating ice cream that had been made from polluted cream. That is the story of an epidemic which the State Department of Health has been busy fighting and the history of which furnishes a most startling picture of the awful penalty that disease-infected milk can levy.

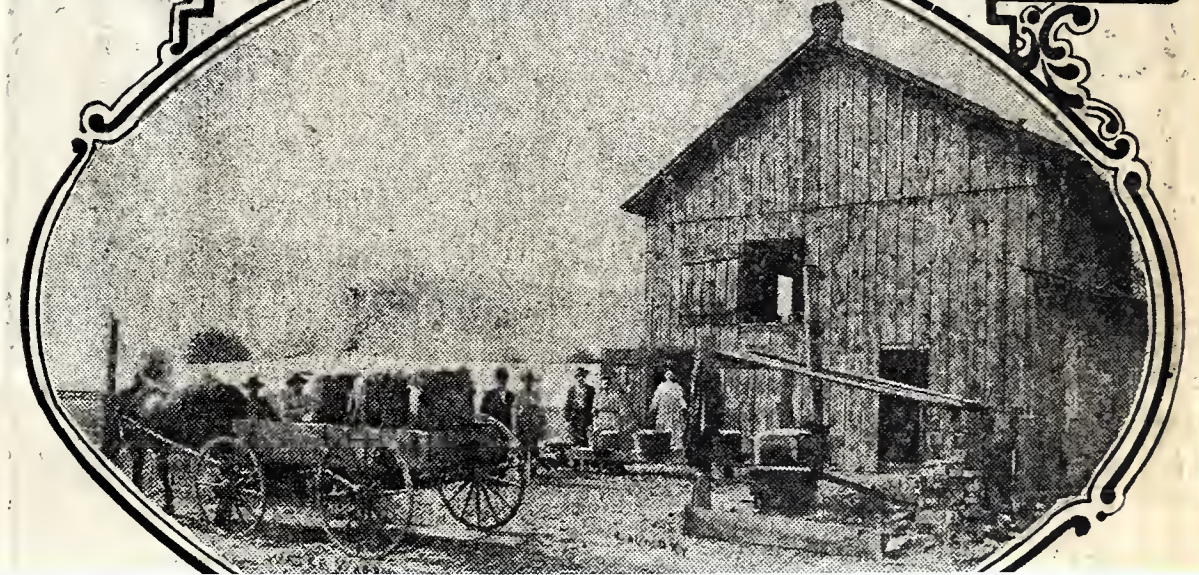
An elderly woman living in the borough of Berwick, seven miles from Lime Ridge, became ill with typhoid fever. Her son, a dairy farmer, living about four miles away, took his mother's milk several times a week during her illness, bringing back to his farm on succeeding visits the cans he had previously left. It was not long before typhoid developed on the dairyman's farm.

This dairyman, we will call him "A," was in the habit of exchanging milk with a neighbor, "Dairyman B." That is, "A" would sell to "B" when the latter was short, or vice-versa. "Dairyman B's" wife and two children and also his hired man soon contracted the disease.

"Dairyman B" every Friday afternoon took 30 to 40 quarts of milk and 10 to 15 quarts of cream from his farm to a man in Lime Ridge, who on Saturday made the same into ice cream. It isn't exaggerating to say that almost every family in this village of 250 inhabitants was a patron of the ice cream man and on Saturday afternoons and Sunday the townspeople, young and old, indulged in this refreshment. It was delicious tasting ice cream, made in clean surroundings, the last place in the world one would expect to find deadly typhoid lurking.

People Panic-Stricken.

And then this little village that has known hardly any sickness suddenly found itself in the throes of a typhoid fever epidemic. The people were panic-stricken. State Commissioner Dixon detailed the County Medical Inspector, Dr. S. Bowman Arment, of Bloomsburg, to render assistance and Sanitary Inspect-



▲ Newspaper article on typhoid epidemic. Record Group 11, Records of the Department of Health. Sanitary Engineers' Epidemic Reports.

*In order for any advances
to be made in sanitation,
the state needed to have control
over public health issues.*

Adapted by

SALLY RAND



1938

Established under P.L. 1067 signed by Governor John Kinley Tener on June 19, 1911, the Pennsylvania State Board of Censors was the first such body in the United States and also one of the strictest. It was responsible for reviewing all films prior to release in Pennsylvania and with approving only “such [films] as shall be moral, and to withhold approval from such as shall tend to debase or corrupt the morals.” Though the board was funded in April 1913, Governor Tener did not appoint the first board members until 1914. The initial law was amended by P.L. 534, the Act of May 15, 1915, to increase the board from two to twenty-two members. The size of the paid staff fluctuated throughout the board’s history and it maintained offices in Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. Almost all film screening took place in the Philadelphia office, with the Harrisburg office providing fiscal supervision and the Pittsburgh office distributing the seals of approval or disapproval for films shown in western Pennsylvania.

The State Censorship Board required that all films submitted for review be accompanied by scripts, and foreign films had to have a notarized affidavit swearing that their translations were accurate. Section twenty-two of the Standards of the Board required all movie advertising to meet the same standards as the film itself. Records at the State Archives for the period from 1935 through 1949 reveal that the Pennsylvania State Board of Censors reviewed a total of 24,235 films during that period. During that same period, the board ordered that eliminations be made in 2,226 different films and banned seventy-six films outright.

The extensive list of specifically banned subject matter included prostitution or “white slavery”; seduction or assault of women or young girls; and graphic depiction of (or subtitles describing) childbirth, the use of illegal drugs, the modus operandi of criminal activity, gruesome scenes, nudity or sexually suggestive use of exposed body parts, birth control, eugenics, abortion, venereal disease, men and women living together without benefit of marriage, adultery, sensual kissing or lovemaking, lewd or immodest bathing or dancing, sexually suggestive use of cigarettes by women, exhibition of women in night dresses, brutality, drunkenness, excessive use of gunplay and knives in an underworld set-

ting, counterfeiting, lynching, ridiculing of races or social groups, irreverent or sacrilegious treatment of religion, themes that established “false standards of conduct or inflamed the mind to undertake improper adventures,” use of profane or objectionable language, or vulgarities of a gross kind such as often appeared in slapstick and other screen comedies. Banners and posters used to advertise motion pictures were required to meet the same standards.

When the board determined that scenes should be removed, the film distributor was notified that changes were necessary and the board would generally work with the film company in finding ways to edit out offensive material or restructure the film. The *Sunset Strip Case*, also known as the *Sunset Murder Case*, was approved for viewing in Pennsylvania only after a number of scenes were removed. Several of the eliminations are listed on the board’s eliminations sheet dated December 1, 1938, on page 168. The advertising handbill depicting Sally Rand in costume for her “Dance of the Peacocks” in the movie *Sunset Strip Case* is clearly marked as disapproved *opposite*.

The film *Ecstasy* was originally produced and released in Czechoslovakia in 1933. It stars Hedy Lamarr in her pre-Hollywood days as a young bride who discovers that her husband is impotent. She has an affair with another man and is shown in the nude for extended scenes. Pennsylvania’s Board of Censors banned the film the day after it was first received on July 27, 1936. In May 1939, the film was again “rejected on the grounds that the ecstasy referred to is the ecstasy of immoral relations; also rejected on the grounds of a nude woman appearing in the picture and that the entire theme of the picture is immoral and indecent.” In fact, the film was disapproved on four separate occasions in 1939 and again in 1940 and 1941. It was not until December 1942, that *Ecstasy* was finally approved for screening in Pennsylvania after numerous eliminations were made of scenes deemed “not moral nor proper.” In the approved 1942 version, “the entire sequence of nudity was completely taken out as were the cabin scenes of passion.” This controversial film played throughout Pennsylvania in January 1943. However, the Board of Censors once again saw fit to ban *Ecstasy* on March 2, 1948. The Certificate of Censorship—Not Approved, on the following page, is the official notice that was sent to the Eureka Productions notifying it that *Ecstasy* was again banned from being shown in the Commonwealth. It is possible that an uncut print had begun cir-

◀ Advertising Handbill for Sally Rand in Motion Picture *Sunset Strip Case*, 1938. Record Group 22, Records of the Department of Education. State Board of Censors (Motion Picture), Applications for Examination.

culating, and that it was this version that prompted the board to once again ban the film.

Even when the Board of Censors did not order any changes or eliminations to a film, it nonetheless influenced the film industry, since all motion pictures exhibited in Pennsylvania were required to display the board's stamp or seal of approval on screen for four feet of film. Pennsylvania's State Board of Censors believed that it was protecting individual citizens from harmful,

salacious, and violent subject matter and was particularly concerned about the negative impact that such movies could have on children. The reign of state censorship boards in the United States came to an end as a result of a series of court decisions grounded upon the free speech provision of the First Amendment during the 1950s and 1960s. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled Pennsylvania's law unconstitutional on March 13, 1956.

*Pennsylvania State Board of
Censors Certificate of Censorship
-Not Approved, 2 March 1948.
Record Group 22, Records of the
Department of Education, State
Board of Censors (Motion Picture),
Rules, Procedures and Forms.*

PENNSYLVANIA STATE BOARD OF CENSORS			
ELIMINATIONS			
EXCHANGE	Grand National Picts	ADDRESS	Philadelphia
TITLE		MANAGER	
THE SUNSET STRIP CASE		Saul J. Krugman	
REELS	REQUIREMENTS	NOTE:	
D.R.1	Sec. "A"	All words enclosed in brackets are to be eliminated from speeches or subtitles in which they occur:	
L.R.2	Sec. "A"	A-Elim. all sounds whatsoever heard coming from off-stage as Eddie is supposedly slapping, beating and killing Nita.	
		A-In the dance, in night club, by Kathy as "Valerie", elim.: (1) Views of her, seen through palms, coming down steps and full length views of her dancing behind palms. (2) Full length views of her going toward tables at which people are seated and parading or dancing long side of room. (I'd like to have her	

PENNSYLVANIA STATE BOARD OF CENSORS

CERTIFICATE OF CENSORSHIP

56075

NOT
APPROVED

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT EUREKA PRODUCTIONS, INC.

has submitted to the Pennsylvania State Board of Censors for examination and censorship 8 reels entitled

ECSTASY

length lineal feet, to be exhibited and displayed in the State of Pennsylvania; and that there has been deposited a fee of \$2.00 for each reel.

This further certifies that said reels tend in the judgment of the said Board of Censors to debase or corrupt morals and are therefore NOT approved.

Maker of film EUREKA PRODUCTIONS, INC. Done at Philadelphia, Pa., this 2nd day of March 1948

THE PENNA. STATE BOARD OF CENSORS.

Edna R. Carroll
ATTEST: E. C. Fisher
Vice-Chairman Secretary

of Holton and Kathy kiss-

picture showing Sally Rand
approved and may not be

Eliminations Sheet for Motion Picture
Sunset Strip Case, 1 December 1938.
Record Group 22, Records of the Department
of Education, State Board of Censors
(Motion Picture), Applications for
Examination.

1976

Even as Americans celebrated the two-hundredth birthday of their nation with fireworks and cookouts, for residents of western Pennsylvania the decade of the 1970s gave them little cause for celebration. According to the United States Department of Commerce, between the years 1967 and 1972, Pennsylvania lost a staggering 132,900 manufacturing jobs, one of the worst instances of industrial job loss in the nation. Governor Milton J. Shapp was determined to do something to help bring jobs back into the Commonwealth. Elected by large majorities in both 1970 and 1974, the Cleveland, Ohio, native was known as a champion of the little guy and a firm believer in the premise that government must serve as an advocate for all the people. When Shapp learned that German automaker Volkswagen (VW) was looking to establish a manufacturing facility in the United States to build its popular new car, the Rabbit, he recognized this as an opportunity to help the citizens of the Commonwealth.

Volkswagen was looking to build a plant in America for a number of reasons. First, the new facility would give VW the ability to quickly supply the market with new Rabbits. Second, it would permit Volkswagen to circumvent U.S. import restrictions, and finally, the proposed plant would allow the company to be independent of the dollar-deutschmark relationship. Due to the deflated U.S. dollar and inflating German labor costs, the prices of Volkswagen's automobiles were increasing. The company had also lost its lead in import sales to Japan's Toyota, which outsold VW by ten thousand cars in 1975. Initially, four cities were vying for the Volkswagen facility, including Brook Park, Ohio, a Cleveland suburb that had an old GM tank plant; Detroit, Michigan, where there was an unused Chrysler Corporation automobile site; Baltimore, Maryland, which went so far as to place a full-page ad in the March 1, 1976 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*; and a never-completed Chrysler automobile plant in New Stanton, Pennsylvania, a small town just southeast of Pittsburgh.

Governor Shapp enthusiastically courted Volkswagen by traveling to Germany in April 1976 to personally lobby for the New Stanton site, hoping that having the plant in Pennsylvania would prove to be a boon for the state's sagging economy. Shapp offered the Germans numerous incentives to make the New Stanton facility more attractive than the other locations being considered. In the letter on the following page the automaker stated that, "it finds priority in using the New Stanton plant facilities of Chrysler."

Accompanying the letter is an eight-page paper entitled "Basic Requirements for the Establishment of a VW Assembly Plant in New Stanton, Pa." These were the preliminary conditions of the deal that Volkswagen and the Commonwealth had already hammered out. It also stipulated that the Pennsylvania officials should handle this matter as confidentially as possible until a final decision was reached. The letter's contents were made public in both Germany and Pennsylvania four days later when Governor Shapp held a news conference in Harrisburg proclaiming, "I'd say we pulled a big rabbit out of the hat—to be exact, about a quarter of a million VW Rabbits a year." He also said in a press release that day, "this is undoubtedly the most significant economic event for Pennsylvania in many years, one which will provide enormous long term benefits to Westmoreland County and the entire Commonwealth." Governor Shapp noted that after receiving the letter on May 24, the state took four days to resolve a few "sticky points" with VW. No specifics of the deal were discussed, because both sides were still ironing out a few minor details. The final master agreement with Volkswagen Corporation of North America was signed by Governor Shapp and Siegfried Hohn, treasurer and director of the U.S. subsidiary, on September 15, 1976. Initially the press and public viewed the deal as a major coup for Pennsylvania, but gradually criticisms began to emerge concerning the size of the incentive package.

In the agreement, Pennsylvania wound up investing \$70 million in the project, all of which would eventually be repaid. Twenty million dollars went to a bond issue to finance a highway link for the VW plant, with \$10 million in bonds being used to construct a railroad spur. In addition, a \$40 million loan, which was to be repaid over thirty years, was granted to Volkswagen. Also, \$600,000 was used under the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) to help Volkswagen recruit and train workers. Finally, local governments provided an additional \$3.2 million to the deal and granted VW substantial relief from property taxes for the first five years.

The Volkswagen Westmoreland plant opened on October 5, 1976, with production beginning in April 1978. Shapp, who believed that government should play a role in stimulating industrial development, continued his attempts to lure foreign corporations to Pennsylvania. He made a ten-day trip to Japan in April 1978, making his sales pitch to various Japanese companies in hopes that they would come to Pennsylvania to set up manufac-

turing facilities. The governor used the New Stanton plant as an example of Pennsylvania's willingness to do whatever it would take to attract new businesses into the state.

Unfortunately for the residents of the New Stanton area, the good times did not last. By 1983, half of the Westmoreland plant's six thousand workers were laid off and by 1988 the factory had completely shut down. It was a victim of the deindustrialization of the nation's former manufacturing core of the Upper Midwest and Northeast, an area that was known as the "Rust Belt" by the mid-1980s. Western Pennsylvania's economic situation continued to worsen as more steel mills and factories closed up and hundreds of thousands of residents left the area in search of employment. Governor Milton Shapp's incentive-laden deal became the model for numerous other deals between states

and foreign corporations, and by the 1990s, incentives were a part of most industrial development packages. So while the deal did not "provide enormous long-term benefits to Westmoreland County and the entire Commonwealth," as Governor Shapp had stated it would, the agreement did become the basis for a whole new system of attracting foreign firms who were looking to build new industrial facilities in this country.

► *Letter from Volkswagen to Governor Milton Shapp expressing the German automaker's preliminary intention of building a plant in New Stanton, Pennsylvania, May 24, 1976. Record Group 23, Records of the Department of Public Welfare. Milton J. Shapp Papers, Correspondence File.*

B

VOLKSWAGEN WERK

AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT

DER VORSTAND

WOLFSBURG

The Honorable
Milton J. Shapp
Governor of Pennsylvania

May 24, 1976

Main Capitol
Harrisburg, Pa. 17120

USA

Dear Governor Shapp,

After intensive negotiations with the Governors and officials of several States we received as you know numerous detailed location offers for our Volkswagen assembly plant in the United States.

In principle the Board of Management of Volkswagenwerk finds priority in using the New Stanton plant facilities of Chrysler. These plant facilities, however, are not yet completed and, therefore, have not yet been in operation. Consequently Volkswagen has to do completion work for the start-up of the factory. The choice of this alternative is burdening Volkswagen with greater engineering work and financial efforts, more than any other alternative. In order to support Volkswagen in overcoming and balancing these problems the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has offered - with letters of April 20 and May 7, 1976 - generous Packages of Incentives.

Weighing all advantages and disadvantages of the New Stanton Location the Board of Management has decided to submit an offer to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to take over the New Stanton facilities subject to the "Basic requirements for the establishment of a Volkswagen assembly plant" as per enclosure.

- 2 -

Vorsitzender
des Aufsichtsrats
Hans Breyer

Vorstand: Ton Schmücker, Vorsitzender, Horst Badsmann, Prof. Dr. techn. Ernst Flais, Dr. jur. Peter Frerk
Günter Hartwich, Horst Münzner, Dr. rer. pol. Werner P. Schmidt, Gottlieb M. Strobl, Prof. Dr. rer. pol. Friedrich Thomée
Sitz der Gesellschaft: Wolfsburg
Amtsgericht Wolfsburg HRB 215

1979

In the early hours of March 28, 1979, an equipment malfunction occurred at the Unit 2 nuclear generating station on Three Mile Island (TMI) near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. A combination of equipment failure and operator error allowed the malfunction to lead to a dangerous situation. This situation was compounded by a failure to understand what was happening at the time and to communicate that information. The problem was caused by the failure of a regulating valve to close after relieving high pressure in the primary cooling system that keeps the nuclear core from overheating. An emergency cooling system came on line as it was designed to do. The operators, however, not accurately interpreting the system's instrument readings, shut down the emergency system. This led to a partial melting of the core and contamination of the containment vessel.

Though the emergency system was restarted by midday, company officials were not fully aware of what had happened and the extent of damage suffered by the core. Incorrect information was initially disseminated to reporters who had little understanding of technical matters. The public was alarmed by the specter of a nuclear reactor out of control and it was some days before calm was restored. Citizens reacted in a variety of ways. A large number left the area after Governor Richard Thornburgh ordered a limited evacuation of pregnant women and preschool children living within a five-mile radius of the plant. Others offered assistance of various sorts, from housing for the evacuees to technical advice. Many, especially children, later wrote to express their fears and gratitude that the emergency had been contained.

A principal factor in the restoration of calm was the assignment of Harold R. Denton by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission to oversee the actions of the company and to

advise officials responsible for public safety. Denton's technical expertise and unflappable manner finally provided an anchor in a sea of uncertainty. Though the immediate problem of cooling the reactor core had been solved by the afternoon of the incident, concerns over the existence of a hydrogen bubble within the containment vessel lingered for several days until technicians found a way to reduce its potential for further trouble. During this time, Denton assessed the situation and provided sage advice and understandable explanations that allayed the public's immediate fears. Subsequently, the incident at Three Mile Island began the erosion of public support for nuclear power generation. Applica-

tions for construction of new nuclear plants fell sharply, and those in the planning phase received vigorous questioning from nearby residents.



► Photograph of Harold Denton with Governor Richard Thornburgh responding to questions concerning the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island, March 29, 1979. Manuscript Group 471. Harold and Lucinda Denton Papers.

To: 3 Mile Island

To you for saving my life
and my family's

Thank you

*School children's cards
expressed both fears and gratitude
to Harold Denton in the after-
math of the accident at Three
Mile Island. Manuscript Group
171, Harold and Lucinda
Denton Papers.*



I was very scared
if it wasn't for you
we would of been ~~dead~~
I'm happy. Very happy

Radiation really got me upset.
I thought something could
happen to my family.



Love
Tonya

1993

Twice in the last ten years, the terms of Pennsylvania governors have been interrupted by emergencies requiring the lieutenant governor to succeed to the powers and duties of chief executive. During the first year of his term in 1987, fifty-five-year-old Governor Robert P. Casey underwent heart bypass surgery, and early in 1991 he was diagnosed as having Appalachian familial amyloidosis, a very rare, untreatable, congenital disease that frequently brings early death through gradual destruction of the internal organs. (The Appalachian designation is used because the disease was first identified among the families of coal miners in Appalachia.) In June 1993, soon after launching the series of state economic projects called "Jump Start," Governor Casey's sharply decreased liver function led him to consider a liver transplant performed by Dr. Tom Starzl, the nation's leading organ transplant specialist, at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. The governor held a joint press conference in Harrisburg with Dr. Starzl on Friday, June 11, to inform

the public of his condition. As soon as preliminary tests were run, he learned that his heart had grown too weak to sustain a liver transplant alone and that the only hope of avoiding imminent death was a combined heart and liver transplant.

On Sunday evening, June 13, he learned that Frances Lucas, the mother of a thirty-year-old African American murdered at their home in Monessen, had authorized the donation of her son's organs. Just before the operation began, the governor sent the eight-line letter below to the General Assembly. On returning in good health to Harrisburg to resume his executive duties on December 21, Governor Casey wrote to the General Assembly that he had assurances that his disability had ended, and included the informal letter on the following page, addressed to House

▼ *Letter from Governor Robert P. Casey to the General Assembly that temporarily transferred power to Lieutenant Governor Mark Singel, June 14, 1993. Record Group 7, Records of the General Assembly. House of Representatives.*



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
HARRISBURG

THE GOVERNOR

June 14, 1993

To The General Assembly
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Pursuant to 71 P.S. section 784.1, I hereby declare that effective 5:00 A.M., June 14, 1993, I will be temporarily unable to discharge the powers and duties of the Office of Governor, and that in accordance with Article IV, section 13 of the Pennsylvania Constitution such powers and duties shall be discharged by Lieutenant Governor Mark S. Singel, until such time as I transmit to the General Assembly a declaration to the contrary.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Casey
Governor

Speaker, H. William DeWeese. During his six months as acting governor, Lieutenant Governor Mark S. Singel adhered to the Casey policies and was in full communication with the governor and his aides at the Pittsburgh hospital room. In these brief communications of June 14 and December 13, 1993, Governor Casey followed the Twenty-fifth Amendment model of a chief executive's statement to the legislature declaring his own disability, followed later by a statement that the disability had ended.

The most recent transfer of gubernatorial power was a direct result of the tragedies of September 11, 2001, in which radical Islamic al Qaeda terrorists hijacked airliners and crashed them into New York City's World Trade Center towers and a section of the Pentagon, killing about twenty-five hundred Americans. This concerted attack also resulted in the crash of United Airlines Flight 93 in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, when passengers attempted to regain control of the airliner from the terrorists. In the aftermath of these attacks, President George W. Bush established the United States Office of Homeland Security to coordinate the country's response to future threats and asked Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge to become his new chief of Homeland Security. On Friday, October 5, 1991, Governor Ridge officially resigned to accept the post of Director of Homeland Security, and Lieutenant Governor Mark S. Schweiker was sworn in as governor of Pennsylvania. Ridge's resignation was embodied in his letter *opposite* to the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Kim Hanna Pizzingrilli, and the "People of Pennsylvania."

▼ *Letter from Governor Robert P. Casey informing House Speaker William DeWeese of his ability to resume his duties as governor, December 21, 1993. Record Group 7, Records of the General Assembly, House of Representatives.*



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
HARRISBURG

THE GOVERNOR

December 13, 1993

The Honorable H. William DeWeese
Speaker
Pennsylvania House of Representatives
Room 139 - The Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Dear Bill:

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter I sent today to Acting Governor Mark S. Singel announcing my intention to return to the office of Governor on Tuesday, December 21, 1993, at 12:01 a.m.

Best wishes for the Christmas season and the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bob Casey".

Robert P. Casey
Governor



Governor's Office

To Secretary Pizzigrilli and the People of Pennsylvania:

As required by law, I write today to officially notify the Secretary of the Commonwealth of my resignation. I will resign as Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, effective 2:00 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time today, Friday, October 5, in the year 2001. At that same hour, and in accordance with the Pennsylvania Constitution, Lt. Gov. Mark Schweiker will be sworn in as governor, to serve the remainder of my term.

I am resigning to become the director of the new U.S. Office of Homeland Security. I am honored that President Bush has turned to me for this essential task, at this crucial time. I accept his appointment with commitment and resolve. The challenge is great, but even greater is the strength I draw from the President's leadership; from the courage of the victims' families; from the resilience of the rescuers; and from the resurgent patriotism of our nation. I will do everything in my power to fulfill the President's faith in me.

And yet, as I commence this mission with vigor and enthusiasm, I also wish that it did not have to be so. It has been difficult for me to accept the necessity of resigning this office. Serving as the Governor of Pennsylvania has been the greatest privilege of my professional life. I have worked with some of the most talented people in our nation, to govern the most wonderful, hard-working, good-hearted people in the world. Together, we have made Pennsylvania a better place. There is a new optimism in Pennsylvania, a sense of restoration to our rightful place as a leader in the nation and in the world. We have governed honorably and with integrity, and we have kept our promises. I am proud of what we have done, and I am proud of how we have done it.

I still am humbled by the confidence and trust the People of Pennsylvania first placed in me on November 8, 1994. I have worked to justify that confidence and trust every day since.

Michele and I will always be grateful for the opportunity to serve and the kindness and generosity Pennsylvanians have extended to our family.

I am leaving Pennsylvania, but it will always be my home. Until I see you next, please know that I remain,

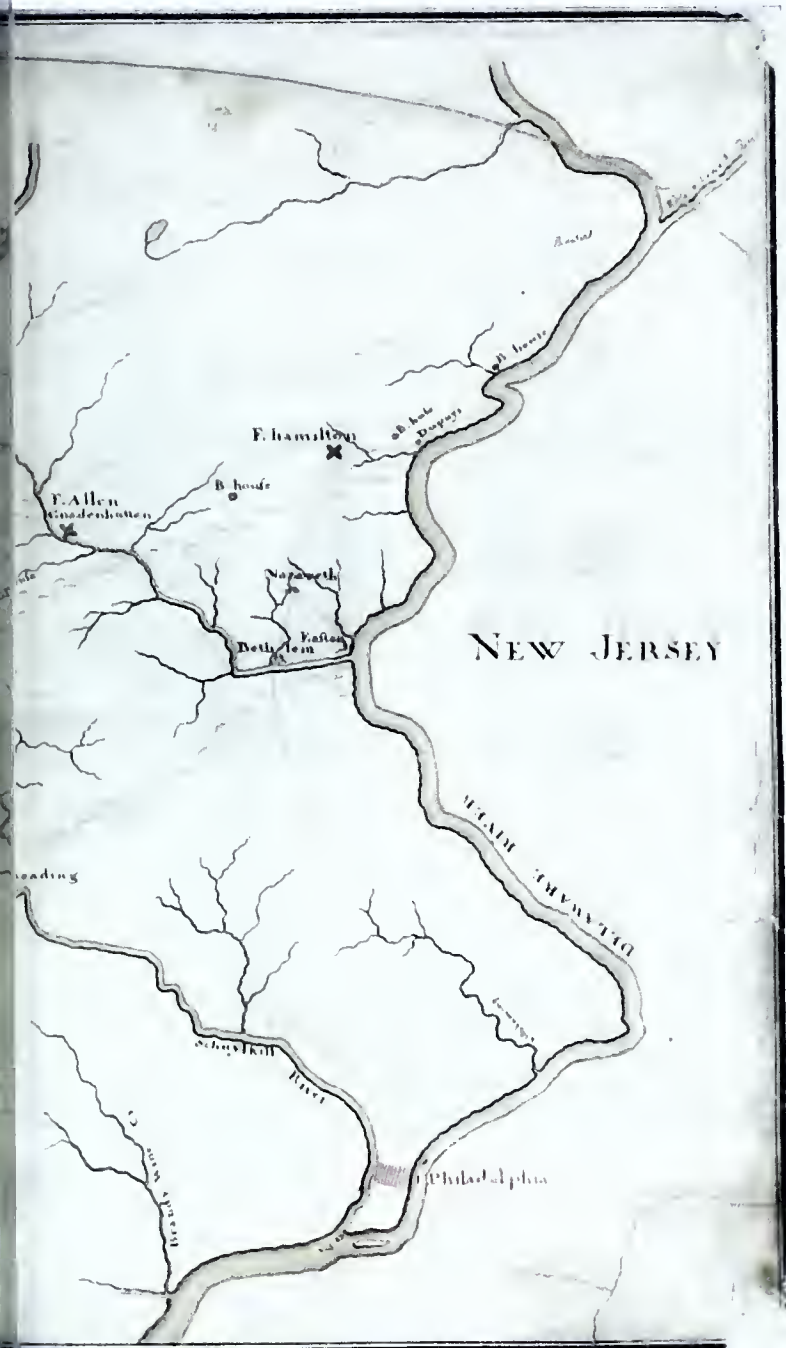
Your fellow Pennsylvanian, and your friend,

Tom Ridge
October 5, 2001

◀ Resignation letter of Governor Tom Ridge. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State.

Pennsylvanians at War

1756



The provenance of this map is unknown, though it probably resided among the Land Office records when that office was still a part of the Department of Internal Affairs. Besides the clearly depicted towns, forts, and blockhouses, the map illustrates important roads, including Braddock Road running west through the Allegheny Mountains built during the French and Indian War. There are a number of significant distortions, including the too northerly placement of the Potomac River at the bottom. The line of last purchase shown just below the West Branch of the Susquehanna River demarcates the northern extent of the Albany purchase from the Indians in 1754.

Between 1732 and 1754, a series of five purchase treaties were negotiated with Native Americans that extended legal settlement to the Allegheny Mountains in the west and as far as the Pocono Mountains in the north. The first of these was the treaty of 1732 that opened land for settlement in the Schuylkill River watershed. A treaty negotiated with the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1736 extended the boundary of European settlement to the crest of the Kittatinny Mountains. The third of these was the infamous "Walking Purchase" of 1737 that transferred ownership of the upper Delaware River watershed to the mouth of the Lackawaxen Creek, further aggravating discontent among the native population. The treaty negotiated by the British Crown with the Iroquois at Albany on July 6, 1754 attempted to establish the western boundary for all the British colonies in North America. The resulting threat of imminent war with the French and the Indians forced a renegotiation resulting in a new boundary on October 23, 1758.



1778

The Villefranche Map for the Defense of the Delaware River drawn by Monsieur Major Jean Louis Ambrose de Genton, Chevalier de Villefranche, depicts the plan for the defensive works to repel a British sea invasion of Philadelphia. The map was created as a result of reconnaissance conducted by General Louis Lebéque Duportail and Colonel Lewis de la Radiere. Trained in King Louis XVI's Royal Corps of Engineers, these two officers arrived in Pennsylvania in 1777 at the invitation of Benjamin Franklin. Duportail met the cartographer Villefranche while attending the Continental Congress meeting in York in the winter of 1777–78. Villefranche arrived in America with French Major General Philippe Du Coudray whom he assisted in constructing the defenses on the east shore of the Delaware River between Red Bank and Billingsport in August to September of 1777. After British forces under General William Howe occupied Philadelphia, General Washington hoped to cooperate with the Continental Navy in strengthening Fort Mifflin on Hog Island in the Delaware River in order to isolate Howe in Philadelphia. British forces succeeded in capturing the lower fortifications and mounted batteries on Province Island and Carpenter's Island to bombard Fort Mifflin. After a blistering six-day bombardment, a nearly flattened Fort Mifflin fell to British forces on November 16, 1777. After Coudray drowned in the Schuylkill River, Duportail assisted Villefranche in getting a commission as a major in the newly formed Corps of Engineers and together they spent the balance of the winter of 1777–78 at Valley Forge.

After the withdrawal of British forces from Philadelphia to New York on June 18, 1778, Richard Peters, a member of the Board of War, wrote to Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council President Joseph Reed on February 22, 1779, concerning the

Delaware River fortifications that General Louis Lebéque Duportail, "is about executing the Orders of the Com. in Chief, in taking a survey of the Delaware and preparing a plan of Fortification." Duportail's assistant, Colonel Louis de Shaix La Radiere staked out the lines on the ground for the new fortifications that were then erected under the supervision of Colonel John Bull. In a letter dated May 14, 1779, Joseph Reed complimented Duportail on the proposals for defense depicted on the Villefranche map.

This elegantly executed draught measuring forty-four inches by sixty-seven inches depicts the region where the Schuylkill River empties into the Delaware River. Roads, swamps, shorelines, woodlots, and farms are clearly shown as well as the location of chevaux-de-frise, sharp-pointed logs projecting from frames sunk in the river to obstruct the passage of enemy warships. The map focuses on Hog Island, Mud Island (the site of Fort Mifflin), and Province Island (site of the British batteries used to reduce Fort Mifflin). The plan for the timberwork and for the powder magazine are illustrated on the Villenfranche map in colorful detail. River shoals and channels are clearly marked. Also illustrated are the position of the fortifications on Mud Island destroyed by fire from British battleships and the batteries British forces erected on Province Island in 1777. A folding overlay attached to the map depicts the new works to be erected. Two separate sheets contain diagrams for the proposed powder magazine, outer battlements and the inner fort, as well as the gun emplacements. This was the first of several plans for the reconstruction of the new fort that began in 1778 with the re-garrisoning and placement of two cannon and an eight-inch howitzer on the island.

◀ *Detail from the Villefranche Map of Defenses on the Delaware River, [ca. 1778]. Record Group 27, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments.*

Philad^a

July 21st

1778

Inventory of sundry household goods &c found
in the house of Joseph Galloway in Market Street

In Room down stairs	2 Mahogany tables - M. Chews		15	~	~
	2 d ^o - - - - - and d ^o		12	~	~
	10 d ^o chairs with hair bottoms	Chews	80/-	10	~
	4 Windsor d ^o	d ^o	3/-	6	~
	1 p ^o glass hand Irons	d ^o		9	~
	1 p ^o shawl and long	d ^o		2	~
	1 Mahogany table	- - - - - d ^o		5	~
	1 d ^o side Board			3	~
	1 d ^o Table			3	10
	8 Mahogany chairs with hair bottoms	Chews	80/-	32	~
In the entry	1 p ^o hand Irons and long			3	~
	1 small looking glass			~	10
	1 Wine decanter			~	5
	6 Black bottles			~	2
	1 small China bowl		1/-	~	13
	1 Tea canister			~	2
	1 Windsor chair			1	10
	1 Broom			~	2
	1 Mahogany screen - (deborah Morris)			1	~
	1 Basket with silver tops			2	10
	3 Brass candlesticks			1	2
	1 p ^o muffers		7/6	~	2
	3 Japaned Waiters		2/6	~	2
	6 cups and 6 saucers China			1	2
	1 d ^o - - - - - slop bowl			3	~
	1 d ^o - - - - - cream pott			~	2
	1 d ^o - - - - - plate			~	3
	1 d ^o - - - - - Tea pott			~	5
	3 silver tea spoons			~	7
	1 plate basket and one other d ^o	10/-	2	10	~
Amount carried over			L. 15/-	9	6

1778

While meeting in Lancaster on March 6, 1778, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed an Act of Attainder that required alleged loyalists to either stand trial or risk forfeiture of their estates. Members of the Assembly hoped to raise revenue by selling loyalists' property and, as one of the wealthiest men in the Commonwealth, Joseph Galloway became one of the first targets. Joseph Galloway was born into a Quaker family in Maryland in 1731 and his parents moved to Delaware in 1740. His family's business interests brought the teenage Joseph Galloway to Philadelphia where he studied law and eventually married Grace Growden, daughter of a prominent Philadelphia family. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756, became speaker of the Assembly a decade later, and continued in that office until 1774 when he was elected to the First Continental Congress. While in the Continental Congress, Galloway prepared a Plan of Union for Great Britain's American colonies. Under this plan, the colonial union was to be presided over by a President General appointed by the Crown and by a grand council consisting of members to be selected by the colonial legislatures. The plan was intended to provide a means for reconciling the colonies with the mother country and its rejection by the Continental Congress led Galloway to withdraw from that body.

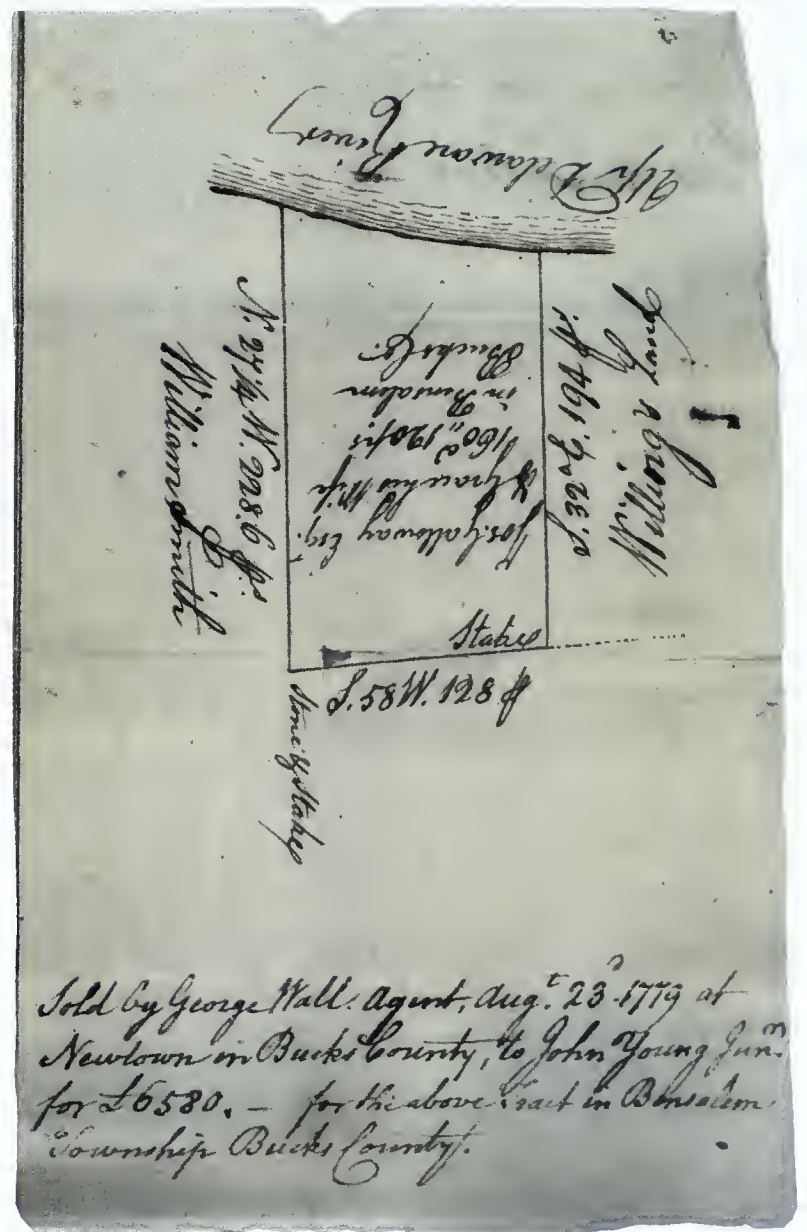
After the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Galloway withdrew from Philadelphia to New York where he joined the British Army and served as an adviser to General William Howe. When British forces occupied Philadelphia from September 1777 to June 1778, Galloway served the British as superintendent general of police and superintendent of the port. When General Henry Clinton replaced General Howe in command of the British forces and withdrew the army from Philadelphia back to New York, Galloway feared for his safety. Leaving his wife in charge of his property in Philadelphia, he withdrew with his daughter to New York and sailed for England in October where he vigorously urged the government to firmly put down the rebellion.

▲ List of Possessions of Joseph Galloway, July 21, 1778. Record Group 27, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, Forfeited Estates File.

► Survey of Joseph Galloway Tract Located on Delaware River in Bensalem Township, Bucks County, 1779. Record Group 27, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, Forfeited Estates File.

When the Pennsylvania Assembly appointed the Philadelphia painter Charles Willson Peale to seize the property of fleeing loyalists, General Washington relied on his military commandant Benedict Arnold to provide security for all property owners. The Pennsylvania Assembly then passed a special act to confiscate Mrs. Galloway's mansion and local officials attempted to lock her out of the front parlor. Arnold responded by posting a guard for her protection and subsequently also provided Mrs. Galloway the personal use of his private carriage for her final withdrawal from Philadelphia. It is noteworthy that following his later famous act of treason, Benedict Arnold's own estate would also be seized as loyalist property.

The daybook (page 182) is a record of accounts kept by Benedict Arnold during this period. The survey map *below*,



depicts the location and boundaries of one of Galloway's estates that was located on the bank of the Delaware River. The list (page 180) is an inventory of such personal property as furniture, bedding, curtains, kitchen utensils, and tools belonging to this estate. This list resembles the type of estate inventories that were made when persons of property died without leaving a will. Residing in England, Galloway was unable to persuade the Pennsylvania Assembly to return his property after the war. In 1783, however, the British government granted him an annual pension of £500 in recognition of his services to the Crown. In time, some of those lands that had originally come to Galloway through his marriage to Grace Growden were restored to their daughter, Betsey.

▼ A page from the Day Book of General Benedict Arnold, 1777-79, covers the period in which Benedict Arnold became military commandant in Philadelphia following the withdrawal of British forces from the city in 1778. Record Group 4, Records of the Office of the Comptroller General.

11.	
11	Schooner Charming Nancy Dr
2.	To Cash p ^r William Shilliff for One } 2800.
	Quarter part & Cargo - }
10.	To Mess ^r Seagrave & Constable for one } 2800.
	Quarter part - }
7	Major Mathias Clarkson Dr
2.	To Cash 12 Dollars received Major Giles . . . 3 12
10	To Cash for Expenses 150 Dollars 45
21	To Cash for Expenses 100 Dollars 30
2	Mess ^r Hannah Arnold Dr
4.	By Cash hand Money 58 4
2	John Challoner Esq ^r Dr
11.	By Cash 5,000 Dollars 1500.
15	Capt ^r Robert Schewell Dr
15	By 1/4 Schooner Gen ^l Arnold at prime cost
	By 1/4 Cargo. Cans 76 lb ^s Tobacco
	Capt ^r Rob ^t Schewell Dr
15	15 To Cash 3,500 Dollars £1050
2.	
13 22	Hen ^l Selas Deane Esq ^r Dr
2.	To Cash 120 Dollars 36
15	Schooner General Arnold Dr
15.	To Rob ^t Schewell for 1/4 Schooner & Cargo } 1974 5 4
	12667-16 & 1/2 Bin ^g Gun
14.	To John Challoner for Provisions } 6 th Schooner
16.	To Colonel Flower for Iron Guns Ballon } 6 th Schooner
	Orist Am ^t

1861

The Civil War Muster Rolls and Related Records encompass the records of all the Pennsylvania infantry regiments, cavalry units, militia units, battalions, artillery batteries, reserve units, and home guard units that served in the American Civil War, including the muster rolls of a number of United States Colored Troops regiments. Muster rolls can differ significantly with regard to the type of information they contain. Some provide information about an individual soldier while others only provide collective information on a company. The muster-in roll was the form used shortly after the start of the war to record the enlistment of soldiers into federal service under legislation entitled “An Act to create a loan and provide for Arming the State” approved May 15, 1861. These forms provide an alphabetical listing of all the enlisted men of a regimental company and generally give the name, rank, age, height, complexion, eye and hair color, occupation, and place of residence of each recruit.

The muster roll on page 184 is for Company F of the 48th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment that was organized in July 1861 in response to President Lincoln’s call for troops to put down the rebellion. The 48th Pennsylvania Infantry was comprised primarily of coal miners from Schuylkill County and Company F was recruited in Minersville. Although engaged in most of the major campaigns and battles in the Eastern Theatre during the course of the war, the Regiment’s most memorable action occurred during the Petersburg Campaign of 1864. The battle was part of one of the longest sieges in American history. The siege began in June 1864, shortly after Union forces failed to capture the Confederate capital at Richmond, Virginia. After weeks of frustrating stalemate, the Union forces decided that dramatic action was required to break through the Confederate line.

Since most of the soldiers in the 48th Pennsylvania were skilled coal miners, they decided to use their talents and dig a tunnel toward the Confederate fort at Pegram’s Salient, southeast

of Petersburg. If successful, the Union Army would be in an excellent position to capture Petersburg. Work on the tunnel began on June 30, 1864, with the men using the simplest of tools. They planned to run the tunnel under the fort and detonate explosives to destroy the Confederate stronghold. Regarding this plan, Union Major General Ambrose Burnside wrote to Brigadier General R. B. Potter: “You realize, General Potter, that so far as I know in the history of warfare no shaft or sap [a covered trench] has ever been attempted anywhere near the length of this one you propose.” The 48th Pennsylvania was about to attempt the impossible.

Working in three-hour shifts, the men excavated between forty to fifty feet of earth per day. Despite poor ventilation, cramped conditions, poor visibility, and counter-mining by Confederate troops, the tunnel was completed by the final week of July 1864. After one month of digging, the tunnel was 511 feet long, and the 48th Pennsylvania was ready to detonate the explosives under the fort. With explosive charges positioned throughout the length of the tunnel, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pleasants gave the order to fire them during the early morning hours of July 30. One Union soldier described the resulting detonation as “a spectacle of appalling grandeur.” Over the ensuing hours, Union divisions rushed into the crater created in the Confederate defenses in an attempt to capture the fort. The Union troops soon became bottlenecked in the tight quarters, however, and Confederate forces took advantage of this opportunity. Counter attacks by Confederate infantry and artillery repulsed the Union attack and as a result the siege was destined to drag on. Pleasants wrote: “our failure to take Petersburg on that day was due alone to the muddling of Union orders, and the mishandling of our attacking divisions.” Union forces suffered approximately 3,798 killed, wounded, or missing in what is often referred to as “the saddest affair” during the course of the war.

► Overleaf: Detail of Civil War Muster Roll for Company F, 48th Pennsylvania Infantry, 1861. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans Affairs. Civil War Muster Rolls and Related Records.

Alphabetical Roll of Captain *Joseph H. Hastings* Company of *Volunteers* from *Sch*
of Pennsylvania, under the Act, entitled "An Act to create a Loan and provide for Arming th

I Certify on honor, that the following Muster Roll exhibits a true and correct return of the Company therein named, as mustered into the
186 , that each man answers to his own proper name in person, and that the description is accurate.

I Certify on honor, that by order of

I have this day mustered and sworn into the service

Company of

from

County, as below enrolled.

Dated at

this

day of

A. D. 186

Company "F" 118 Regt. P.V.

No.	RANK.	NAME.	AGE.	HEIGHT. ft. in.	COMPLEXION.	EYES.	HAIR.	OCCUPATION.
✓ 1	Captain	Joseph H. Hastings	29	5 9 1/4	Dark	Black	Black	Carpenter
✓ 1	1 st Lieut.	Henry James	39	5 7 3/4	Light	Blue	Dark	Superintendent
✓ 1	2 nd Lieut.	John L. Williams	25	5 4 1/2	Dark	Hazel	Black	Miner
✓ 1	1 st Sergeant	John W. Jenkins	25	5 7 1/2	Light	Hazel	Dark	Miner
✓ 1	Sergeant	William E. Taylor	23	5 10	Dark	Gray	Dark	Miner
✓ 2	"	Charles W. Haines	23	5 7 1/4	Light	Gray	Sandy	Carpenter
✓ 3	"	James A. Easton	22	5 6 1/2	Dark	Brown	Brown	Miner
✓ 4	"	Henry Rice	25	5 9 1/4	Light	Gray	Light	"
✓ 1	Corporal	Henry Jenkins	19	5 4	Dark	Hazel	Dark	Miner
✓ 2	"	Jeremiah Griffiths	22	5 7 3/4	"	Gray	"	"
✓ 3	"	William S. Adams	31	5 11 1/2	"	Hazel	"	Hamster
✓ 11	"	William Hopkins	21	5 4 1/2	"	"	"	Miner
✓ 5	"	Richard Hopkins	21	5 7 1/4	"	"	"	Paddler
✓ 6	"	George W. Dowden	24	5 10 1/2	"	"	"	Carpenter
✓ 7	"	Joseph Gould	21	5 5 1/2	Light	Blue	Light	Superintendent
✓ 8	"	John Williams	27	5 5 1/2	Light	Blue	Dark	Miner
✓ 1	Musicians	John Lawrence	21	5 9	Light	Gray	Light	Engineer
✓ 2	"	David Fulton	18	5 3 1/2	Dark	"	"	Laborer
✓ 1	Wagoner	William Doughton	21	5 8	Dark	Dark	Black	Cleanster
✓ 1	Private	Isaac	21	5 6	Dark	Dark	Black	Farmer
✓ 2	"	Ball William	28	5 7 1/2	Light	Hazel	Sandy	Shoemaker
✓ 3	"	Bail Isaac	28	5 3	Dark	Dark	Black	Carpenter
✓ 4	"	Boyle Bernard	19	5 5 1/2	"	Dark	"	Miner
✓ 5	"	Duffy William E.	26	5 5 1/2	Light	Blue	Red	Laborer
✓ 6	"	Heblin John	19	5 3	"	Gray	Sandy	Farmer
✓ 7	"	Dando Isaac	22	5 4 1/2	Dark	Dark	Dark	Miner
✓ 8	"	Levine John	34	5 8	Light	Blue	Sandy	Miner
✓ 9	"	Donnelly Samuel	19	5 2	"	"	Light	Miner
✓ 10	"	Edwards George	21	5 6	"	Gray	"	"
✓ 11	"	Evans James W.	30	5 6	"	Blue	"	"
✓ 12	"	Fulton William	39	5 9	Dark	Gray	Sandy	"
✓ 13	"	Falls James	23	5 8	"	Dark	Dark	Timberman
✓ 14	"	Harrison Austin	28	5 6 1/2	Dark	Black	Black	Sailor
✓ 15	"	Griffiths David	24	5 8 1/2	Light	Blue	Sandy	Miner
✓ 16	"	Gilman William D.	18	5 3	"	Gray	Light	Farmer
✓ 17	"	Haggerty John	26	5 3	"	"	Dark	Sailor
✓ 18	"	Haines Cyrus	19	5 3	Dark	Dark	"	Laborer
✓ 19	"	Jones William D.	22	5 6	Light	Gray	Light	Miner
✓ 20	"	Leustens William	21	5 7	"	Hazel	Dark	Mason
✓ 21	"	Newsp John	19	5 7	"	Blue	"	Miner
✓ 22	"	Fultram Michael	20	5 9	Dark	Gray	"	Laborer

his too in a land whose history you cannot forget—in the land of Pennsylvania—in the land of the Quakers—in a State which bears and will bear forever the name of the Quaker Pennsylvania!” exclaimed Allegheny County Representative Peter C. Shannon on April 8, 1863, from the floor of the state House of Representatives in defense of those men who desired exemption from the 1862 Civil War militia draft on grounds of having “conscientious scruples” against military service. Shannon’s colleague, Benjamin Champneys of Lancaster County, declared that he would be “false to my ancestry—false to their associations with William Penn” himself, the founder of Pennsylvania, if he did not “defend the principles avowed by that great man . . . the right to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience.” In support of minimizing the commutation fee required of Pennsylvania’s Civil War conscientious objectors, both men

appealed to the state’s long history of permitting men to be exempted from military service for reasons of conscience, beginning with the influence of William Penn, whose Quaker beliefs prohibited military service.

The eighth clause in the Declaration of Rights of Pennsylvania’s first state constitution adopted in 1776 included the assertion that no “man who is conscientious scrupulous of bearing arms, [can] be justly compelled thereto, if he will pay such equivalent.” Similar language exempting conscientious objectors from state military service appeared in all of the Commonwealth’s subsequent constitutions, including the most

▼ *Affirmation of Adam Stayer, September 13, 1862. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans’ Affairs. Office of the Adjutant General, Conscientious Objector Depositions.*

State of Pennsylvania,

Bedford County, I.S.

Before me, Commissioner to Superintend Drafting for said county, personally appeared *Adam Stayer* who being duly *Aff’d* did depose and say, that he conscientiously scruples to bear arms, believes it unlawful to do so, whether in self-defence or in defence of his country, or otherwise howsoever; that the scruples and belief above stated, have not been formed lightly, but carefully, deliberately and conscientiously, and are now declared and professed not for the purpose of evading the military service of his country in the present exigency, but because he solemnly and religiously holds and maintains them, and in his conscience believes that it is his bounden duty to act in accordance with them on all occasions, and under all circumstances.

Aff’d and subscribed before me, this *13th* day of *Sept* 1862.
Adam Stayer *J. K. Bowles* COMMISSIONER.

recent one adopted in 1968. Article VI, Section 2, of the 1838 Constitution, in effect at the time of the Civil War, provided that “those who conscientiously scruple to bear arms shall not be compelled to do so, but shall pay an equivalent for service.”

Recognizing the need to bolster the Union ranks, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton ordered a draft of three thousand men from the state militias on August 4, 1862. At the direction of Governor Andrew Curtin, preparations for the militia draft proceeded in Pennsylvania throughout the late summer and fall of that year, with the actual draft being held on October 16, 1862. Draft commissioners were appointed in each county and given instructions for conducting a draft of white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. Among the instructions was a directive to secure an oath or affirmation from those seeking exemption for conscientious scruples based upon the provision in the State Constitution.

A form like the one on page 185 was developed for this purpose, and about 3,400 men filed such depositions. The largest numbers of depositions were taken in the counties with traditionally large Quaker or Mennonite populations such as Lancaster, Bucks, Chester, Philadelphia, and Montgomery—with 667 in Lancaster County alone. Since most of them came from religious backgrounds that prohibited taking oaths as well as performing military service, many of the documents indicate that the person “affirmed” his conscientious scruples.

Members of the historic peace churches—Society of Friends (Quakers), Mennonites (including the Amish), and Dunkards (Church of the Brethren, Brethren in Christ and related groups)—comprised the majority of Civil War conscientious objectors. As Representative J. P. Vincent noted during the debate on the floor of the State House, “the Quakers, Mennonists and others of like belief, not only refuse to bear arms in time of war, but they refuse to attend militia trainings; they refuse to have anything to do with the semblance of a military organization.” Some smaller religious groups such as the Schwenkfelders and the Christadelphians also held convictions against military participation. All believed that military service contradicted the teachings of the New Testament, particularly those of Jesus Christ.

Although the Quakers were more politically active and the Mennonites were more numerous, the Dunkards frequently attracted particular attention by their distinctive practice of baptism of the convert by complete bodily immersion in water. In his

report on the federal draft written at his district headquarters in Chambersburg at the end of the war, Provost Marshal George Eyster observed that “preachers were known to go with indecent haste to the nearest creek to administer baptism to some trembling conscript.” The Adam Stayer mentioned here was a member of a Dunkard congregation in South Woodbury Township, Bedford County.

Because the state constitution did not establish the amount “equivalent for service” to be paid by conscientious objectors, the House of Representatives took up the question in January of 1863. After considerable acrimonious debate in which “great differences of opinion” were expressed, the chamber passed House Bill 774, setting the commutation fee at three hundred dollars. The state Senate considered the bill, but adjourned for the afternoon on April 14, 1863, without voting on it. No further mention of the bill is found, probably because the federal government took over the draft process as a result of the enrollment act passed by Congress on March 3, 1863. The federal draft did not allow exemption specifically for religious reasons, though draftees were permitted to pay a three hundred dollar commutation fee or provide a substitute. Consequently, this file of conscientious objector depositions represents a unique aspect of the history of religious liberty and freedom of conscience. So far as is known, Pennsylvania is the only northern state to have an extant file of depositions of men who refused military service on the basis of their religious convictions. In this very curious way, the legacy of Pennsylvania’s founder, William Penn, found expression during the Civil War.

*Members of the
historic peace churches
believed that
military service contradicted
the teachings of
the New Testament.*

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, the border counties of Pennsylvania lying south and west of the Susquehanna River became part of the eastern theater of war and suffered damage from both sides during the conflict. On July 30, 1864, Confederate troops entered the south central Pennsylvania town of Chambersburg. Their commander, General John McCausland, demanded from the residents \$100,000 in gold or \$500,000 in cash. When the residents refused to pay, he ordered his troops to burn the town. The Confederates attacked severely, robbing residents on the streets, plundering their homes, and setting fire to private as well as public buildings. Occupants were ordered to vacate at once. Those who were physically unable to leave were left to burn, though all but one were rescued by heroic neighbors. Residents who tried to take possessions with them as they left their homes often had them stolen by the troops afterward. Several homeowners paid Confederates to spare their property but the troops still set fire to their homes after receiving the bribes. Not all Confederates participated in the wanton destruction willingly, however. One officer helped residents take clothes and other belongings from their homes before burning them. A Confederate cavalry unit prevented other troops from setting fires in much of southeastern Chambersburg. Nevertheless, a close examination of the following panoramic photograph by Charles Lochman, illustrates the extensive damage inflicted upon the town. The caption claims that the Confederates destroyed \$3 million worth of property and rendered three thousand persons homeless. At least ten square blocks in downtown Chambersburg lay in ruins. Public buildings, including the Franklin County Courthouse, Bank of Chambersburg, the printery of the German Reformed Church, the town hall, and numerous stores, as well as many private homes, perished in the flames.

Why the Confederates chose Chambersburg is not clear. Ransom was demanded and payment made by other nearby towns of Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland and York, Pennsylvania. Chambersburg's refusal to do so might have left them vulnerable. McCausland gave as his sole reason Chambersburg's accessibility. The most probable cause may have been the Confederates' desire for revenge for Union General David Hunter's burning of numerous buildings in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, including the home of the uncle who had raised him.

In response to pleas for financial assistance from Chambersburg residents, in 1866 Pennsylvania's legislature passed an "act for the relief of certain citizens of Chambersburg and vicinity whose property was destroyed by the rebels on the thirtieth of July 1864." Although the total amount of all claims for the burning of Chambersburg was much more, the act called for the appropriation of \$500,000 to be issued on a pro rata basis to all Chambersburg claimants. Victims of the attack had to attest to having "never, directly or indirectly, by word or act, given aid, comfort, countenance, or encouragement to the traitors" and were required to list specifically what they lost with its monetary value. Because many residents lost all of their possessions, their applications for reimbursement reveal much about how they lived. The claim on page 189 by Benjamin Schneck includes normal personal and household items, but also lists some that were peculiar to his profession as clergyman and editor of the German Reformed Church's magazine. He noted as burned his entire library of theological, historical and "Miscellaneous books, including Maps, Charts, many Volumes of Reviews, etc. – over 1200 volumes." Undoubtedly, this was an irreplaceable loss. His inventory is more precisely detailed than others and contains more valuable items, such as "1 Rosewood 7 Octave Piano, a Mahogany Sideboard, fine China, a silver fruit basket, and 5 Chamber sets for 5 rooms." The comparatively high value that he placed on these items suggests his upper middle class social standing.

The burning of Chambersburg in 1864 was not the first occurrence of damage inflicted by Confederates crossing into Pennsylvania, nor the Chambersburg claims the only attempt by citizens in the border counties of Pennsylvania to receive compensation for their property losses during the Civil War. In September 1862, in anticipation of the events at Antietam, twenty-five thousand state militia were called to defend the upper Cumberland Valley from potential invasion. The result of such a large concentration of militia was substantial damage to land and personal property in the southern border counties. Also at this time, many of those same counties were burdened with supplying the Anderson Cavalry, a troop of scouts in United States service, with horses and equipment. The very next month, in October 1862, Major General J. E. B. Stuart led some three thousand troops into the Chambersburg area where they burned the railway depot, machine shops, and a warehouse containing



ammunition. They also took a large number of horses and seized eight prominent citizens along as captives. In the early summer of the following year, Confederate General A. G. Jenkins, who was under orders to learn the whereabouts of Union troops and collect horses and supplies, led cavalry troops throughout Pennsylvania's southern border plundering an estimated \$100,000 in horses, arms, ammunition, clothing, food, and shoes. Shortly thereafter, in the days leading up to the Battle of Gettysburg, even further tribute and property was extracted from the locals as General Lee's headquarters were set up a mile east of Chambersburg.

These border raids, in addition to the Gettysburg Campaign of 1863, inflicted extraordinary financial burden upon the people of Franklin, Adams, York, Cumberland, Fulton, Bedford, and Perry Counties. The legislature, through several acts passed in 1863, 1868, and in 1871, tried to compensate the people in these counties for their losses. All citizens—except for the 1864 burning of Chambersburg claimants who were being treated separately—who claimed losses in these border raids were to file

✶ *Panoramic view of the ruins of Chambersburg looking west from the Market House, albumen print 36 1/2" x 15 1/2" by Charles L. Lockman of Carlisle, Pa., 1864. Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collection.*

claims that inventoried all real or personal property that was lost. The claims of over four thousand people were submitted to county-based boards of commissioners for validation. These claimants, however, were never successful in recouping any money for their losses. The state issued interest-bearing certificates to valid claimants, based upon the correct adjudication of their claims, which were to be cashed in only when the federal government would reimburse Pennsylvania for its war-related debts. These certificates turned out to be worthless. Efforts to secure an appropriation from the federal government continued for many years afterward. At one time in 1879, the claim papers were even forwarded on to the Quartermaster General's Office in Washington. The papers were returned to Harrisburg the following year, however, and no appropriation was ever made.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA:



Franklin County, ss.

destroyed by fire by the Rebels on said day, and that the valuation is no more than the actual cash value of the property at the time it was destroyed; and further, that the deponent never did, directly or indirectly, by word or act, give aid, comfort, or countenance or encouragement to the Traitors, whether in arms or otherwise, and that deponent has never communicated, or attempted to take means to communicate to them, or any of them, any information which could in any way be of advantage to them.

Before me, a Justice of the Peace, in and

for said County, personally appeared *B. S. Schneck*

, who being duly *sworn*

did depose and say, that the within statement of losses sustained by deponent, by the burning of Chambersburg by the Rebels, on the 30th of July, A. D., 1864, is just and true; that all the property therein described was owned by the deponent and was

sworn and subscribed before me, this *19* day of *March*, 1866.

B. S. Schneck

J. P.

Unpaid: \$6,428.⁵⁰/₁₀₀

19th August 1871 - Claim approved for six thousand four hundred and twenty eight ⁵⁰/₁₀₀ dollars.

J. M. Dwyer
Jacob Penninger
Commissioner

Claim of B. S. Schneck, March 19, 1866. Record Group 2, Records of the Department of the Auditor General. Chambersburg War Damage Claim Applications.

No. 120

CLAIM

B. S. Schneck

Losses Claimed:

Real Estate. -- \$3,000

Personal Property, 3,728.50

Total. -- \$6,728.50

Amount of money \$6,428.50

paid March 19th, 1866.

Conced

Sworn

March 19th, 1866, the applicant having heard the facts and allegations of the within claim, and after due deliberation, do find that the actual loss of Real Estate, by the burning of Chambersburg by the Rebels, on the 30th day of July, 1864, was three thousand and seventy two dollars and fifty cents, and of Personal Estate, three hundred and fifty six dollars and fifty cents, making a total of six thousand four hundred and twenty eight dollars and fifty cents.

AWARD: \$6,728.⁵⁰/₁₀₀

Washington D.C.
Dec. 13th 1870.

December 13, 1870
Letter from Major General
Winfield Scott Hancock
to Peter F. Rothermel.
Manuscript Group 108,
Peter F. Rothermel Papers.

To
Mr. P. F. Rothermel

Walden, Va.

My Dear Sir,

Your letter
of 12th instanc, has been received, and
by it I understand, that it is claimed
to have been established that Genl.
McGade visited the lines of the 2^d
Corps, and received a message from
Lieut Haskell (a voluntary one) an-
nouncing the repulse of the enemy,
before my Aide Major Mitchell, had
delivered the message, from me
announcing that fact; and there-
fore that Lieut H. should be so repre-
sented in the painting being ex-
ecuted by you.

This letter was found among the general correspondence, sketch maps, and research notes relating to Peter Frederick Rothermel's painting *The Battle of Gettysburg*. The Hancock-Rothermel correspondence in this manuscript group is dated between 1868 and 1870 when Rothermel was in the process of gathering information for his paintings. While researching the battle, Rothermel corresponded with a number of former high-ranking Union and Confederate officers who were present at Gettysburg including Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, Major General George Gordon Meade, Brigadier General John Gibbon, Brigadier General Henry J. Hunt, and Confederate Major General Isaac Trimble.

The painting was created as a result of Governor Andrew Curtin's desire to establish a committee to commemorate the Battle of Gettysburg in a "historical painting." The committee selected Rothermel who was already a well-established artist specializing in historical scenes. A native of Luzerne County, Rothermel was paid \$25,000 for his work. He had to assume a dual role of historian and artist while working on the Gettysburg project. According to Rothermel "there was much contradiction and confusion in the various reports of officers, eye-witnesses and writers in the interest of their special friends." He adds that much time was spent on the battlefield in an attempt to make sense of the reports and that "the picture had cost some four years of study on the ground and elsewhere." Realizing that the Battle of Gettysburg was too important an event to depict in one painting, Rothermel painted five scenes to represent the conflict. These include *Battle of the First Day and Death of Reynolds*, *Repulse of General Johnson's Confederate Division by General Geary's White Star Division, July 3*, and *Charge of Louisiana Tigers and Repulse on East Cemetery Hill in the evening of July 2*. (*Charge of Pennsylvania Reserves in Plum Run, July 2* was painted later from the Union vantage point in 1881 at the request of Adjutant General James W. Latta and for many years hung in the office of the adjutant general.) The main painting known as *The Battle of Gettysburg* depicting Pickett's Charge is on display in The State Museum of Pennsylvania and measures thirty-two feet long and sixteen and three-quarters feet high. The finished painting toured New York, Boston, and Chicago and was displayed at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

Although the painting depicting Pickett's Charge is fairly accurate, the artist took the liberty of painting Union General George

Gordon Meade into the scene. Though it is known that Meade was either at his headquarters on the Taneytown Road or somewhere in the rear of Cemetery Ridge, Rothermel chose to compress time, people, and events into a single climactic scene.

Brigadier General Winfield Scott Hancock was in charge of the 2nd Corps of the Army of the Potomac during the Battle of Gettysburg. Hancock wrote a series of letters to Rothermel concerning his recollections about the battle. On December 31, 1868, Hancock writes about the wound he suffered during the charge and the loss of his close friend, Confederate Brigadier General Lewis Armistead. In a letter written on December 7, 1870, Hancock discussed his informing General Meade of the outcome of Pickett's Charge. Hancock's letter of December 13, 1870, disputes General Meade's version of events concerning the outcome of Pickett's Charge. The wounded General Hancock instructed Major W. G. Mitchell to relay to General Meade the message that Pickett's assault had been turned back. According to Mitchell, Hancock ordered him to "tell General Meade that the troops under my command have repulsed the enemy's assault and that we have gained a great victory." Meade responded by sending his regrets to Hancock for the wounds that he had suffered during the fight. When Meade disputed Hancock's claim of having informed him of the Union success on the third day of the battle, Hancock responded by vowing that all of his aides, including Mitchell were required to keep memorandum books and that Mitchell recorded his interview with General Meade.

Hancock's letter to Rothermel is an example of the kind of original records sought out by historians who consult a variety of authentic accounts of historical events in order to formulate an accurate version of an event as complex as the Battle of Gettysburg. The Pickett's Charge painting was shown for the first time on December 20, 1870 at the Philadelphia Academy of Music. The painting was eventually moved to Harrisburg in 1894 where it remains to this day among the collections of The State Museum of Pennsylvania. The Rothermel painting has been reproduced numerous times over the years in books and on a wide variety of commercial items. Although the painting itself may not be completely accurate, the papers acquired by Peter Rothermel while conducting his research serve as valuable testimony to the actions of the valiant soldiers who fought and died at Gettysburg.

Photograph of reunion of survivors
 of Pickett's Charge. One hundred and
 twenty survivors of the Philadelphia
 Brigade, Alexander Webb's Brigade,
 and one hundred and twenty veterans
 of Pickett's Division. A nation
 attended the Fiftieth Anniversary
 Commemoration of the Battle of
 Gettysburg. Record Group 25, Records
 of Special Commissions, Fiftieth
 Anniversary of the Battle of
 Gettysburg Commission, General
 Correspondence.



"Pickett's Charge"
of July 3, 1913.
By members of
Pickett's Div. Assoc. Gettysburg Reunion
A.O. 1-4, 1913

"Our country
 will be the richer
 and her fame the greater
 for this
 unique visitation ...
 messengers of peace;
 as men and brothers, loyal to
 a common country,
 united under
 one flag ..."

1913

This is one of numerous photographs documenting the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg held in the town and on the battlefield at Gettysburg on July 1–3, 1913 between surviving veterans of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. For many Civil War veterans it was an opportunity to heal bitter emotional wounds and to accept their former foes as new friends. The fiftieth year anniversary celebration was the brainchild of General H. S. Huidekoper of the 150th Pennsylvania Infantry who lost his right arm on the opening day of the battle. By the spring of 1909, a commission was established with a \$5,000 to finance the event. The federal government and other state governments conducted additional planning in cooperation with veterans' associations to arrange for feeding, medical care, and housing for veterans attending the event. Final plans for the commemoration were drafted by January 1913.

Perhaps the most memorable event of the Gettysburg Fiftieth Anniversary Reunion was the symbolic re-enactment of Pickett's Charge, the bloody climax of the three-day battle. The participants of the re-enactment were one hundred and eighty survivors of the Philadelphia Brigade (Alexander Webb's Brigade) and one hundred and twenty veterans of Pickett's Division Association. This photograph captures part of that memorable event. After two days of bitter but inconclusive fighting, General Robert E. Lee had decided to attempt a daring break through the Union center on Cemetery Ridge. The plan called for a massed Confederate artillery bombardment, led by Colonel E. P. Alexander, to demoralize the Union infantry on the ridge and to dislodge Union batteries. Following this, a Confederate infantry advance was to break the Union center. General George E. Pickett led the Confederate advance that consisted of roughly forty-five hundred to five thousand men. On the opposite side were pockets of Union infantry and a strong artillery under Brigadier General Henry Hunt.

The Confederate attack fell apart as quickly as it started. The Confederate batteries proved ineffective, often overshooting their intended targets and doing little to oust the Union guns. As the Confederate infantry advanced, they soon found themselves subjected to artillery and infantry fire from three sides. Men fell in scores with only a select handful making it as far as the stone wall that stood near to the Union position and the attack was quickly repulsed. Charles E. Banes of the Philadelphia Brigade summarized the situation when he wrote: "the battle is over, the last attack of Lee at Gettysburg is repulsed, and the highest wave of the Rebellion has reached its farthest limit, ever after to recede."

The re-enactment of Pickett's Charge was a symbol of the reconciliation between those who had met on the field of battle fifty years before. Upon reaching the stone wall that had marked the high water mark of the Confederate advance, southerners and northerners shook hands in a display of their common identity as Americans. Congressman J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia presented a silk flag to the men of Pickett's Division on behalf of the Philadelphia Brigade. Moore said "Here where you contended in mortal combat half a century ago you meet today to clasp each other's hands in warm embrace and to extol the virtues in each other found. Our country will be the richer and her fame the greater for this unique visitation . . . messengers of peace; as men and brothers, loyal to a common country, united under one flag—the 'Stars and Stripes.'"

Today, photographs such as this, while documenting the reconciliation of once bitter foes, also serve to illustrate ways in which the landscape of the battlefield has changed over the years. Among the Records of Special Commissions at the Pennsylvania State Archives are found materials created by other commissions relating to the dedication of Pennsylvania Civil War monuments erected to commemorate the battles of Cold Harbor, Virginia, and Chickamauga–Chattanooga, Tennessee, the encampment at Camp Curtin in Harrisburg, and the erection of the statue for General George Gordon Meade at Washington, D.C.

County Allegheny Town Pittsburg, Pa.

PENNSYLVANIA WAR HISTORY COMMISSION
PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

WAR SERVICE RECORD

MAY 21 1919

Fill in for any member of your family in the military or naval service of the United States or of the allied countries, from July 28, 1914, to date, and mail to 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

1. Name Robert Collins Hoffman
(Give name in full)
2. Home Address (P. O.) 47 Shiloh St. Mt. Washington
(Street Address)
3. Next of kin Mrs. Bertha L. Hoffman
Address 47 Shiloh St. Relationship Mother
4. Age at entrance into service 18 5. Date of entrance into service 1st Call 1917
6. Branch of service (a) Regular Army. (d) Navy
(b) National Guard this (e) Naval Reserves.
(c) National Army. (f) Marine Corps.
- 6a. Service in Army or Navy of Allies—Give Nation and Branch of Service.
7. If in the Army, answer the following:
 - (a) Department Infantry
Infantry, Artillery, Medical Corps, etc.
 - (b) Name and Number of Company, Regiment, etc. Co. A. 117th Infantry - 28th Division
 - (c) Where and when located since beginning service. (See point 12 below.) Camp Hancock, France
 - (d) Rank, with dates of promotions. Sergeant, now 2nd Lieut.
Name each Camp, Fort or Station. (See point 12 below.) Candidate School at in France
8. If in the Navy, or Naval Reserves, or Marine Corps, answer the following: (See point 12 below.)
 - (a) Name of ship, or ships.
 - (b) Branch of service.
 - (c) Exact Rank, with dates of promotions.
9. Casualties:
If died in the service, or killed, wounded, gassed or missing in action, give on the back of this sheet date of death, cause of death, date and place of battle, and details concerning casualties.
10. If decorated or cited for bravery, or special service, give date and complete details. (See point 12 below.)
11. Date of Discharge still in France
12. Note: If space after a number on this blank is not sufficient, please note additional facts on the back of this sheet or on a separate sheet. Furnish also, if possible, photograph, sketch of life, war experiences, letters, diaries or any other interesting information.

RETURN TO THE PENNSYLVANIA WAR HISTORY COMMISSION, 1300 LOCUST STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

RETURN TO
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, ALLEGANY
ROOM 21, OLD CITY HALL
SMITHFIELD ST.
PITTSBURGH, PA.
Date May 20th 1919
F-9

Submitted by Mrs. B. L. Hoffman
Address 47 Shiloh St. Pitt. Pa.

(OVER)

Robert C. Hoffman was born on November 9, 1898, in Tifton, Georgia, to parents who were native Pennsylvanians. They moved to Wilksburg, Pennsylvania, in 1903. Hoffman lived in the Pittsburgh area for the remaining years of his adolescence. Bob Hoffman's military career began at eighteen when he enlisted in the 18th Infantry Regiment, Company A of the Pennsylvania National Guard. Hoffman's initial National Guard enlistment papers, dated April 18, 1917, describe him as having blue eyes, dark hair, and a fair complexion and six-foot-two-inches in height. Hoffman's National Guard unit was taken into federal service as Company A of the 111th Infantry Regiment of the newly formed 28th Division, as part of the United States mobilization efforts when the country entered the First World War.

Hoffman was sent to France on May 5, 1918, to serve with the American Expeditionary Force in World War I. He had been promoted to corporal on February 20, 1918, and was promoted again on May 22, 1918, to sergeant. Hoffman was honorably discharged from the 111th Infantry in order to accept a commission as an officer in the 802 Pioneer Infantry on March 27, 1919. All of this information can be gleaned from Hoffman's war service abstract card (page 196). The Adjutant General's Office of Pennsylvania produced these abstract cards between 1920 and 1921. They highlight important information regarding Pennsylvanians' service in World War I.

During Hoffman's service in the American Expeditionary Force he was active in numerous campaigns including Fismette, Champagne-Marne, Aisne-Marne, Oise-Aisne, and Meuse-Argonne. He was decorated numerous times for bravery during the

Great War, receiving the Belgian Order of Leopold, the French Croix de Guerre, and a Silver Star. Hoffman saw action at the front and was wounded by a shell splinter in the line of duty on or about July 2, 1918. He served overseas until July 27, 1919. Bob Hoffman was honorably discharged from the military on August 13, 1919, as the United States downsized its armed forces in the postwar period.

Hoffman's World War I Veterans' Service and Compensation

File is somewhat atypical of the majority of others in this collection. The photographic postcard of Hoffman in his uniform is a wonderful addition to his file and was something that Pennsylvania's War History Commission requested from all of its veterans. Only 10 percent of the respondents chose to send an image along with their completed war service record. Hoffman's file is unusual because it does not include a veteran's service compensation application. In the 1930s Pennsylvania provided an opportunity for its honorably discharged World War I veterans to receive bonus payments.

Bonus applications usually provide information such as place of residence, date of birth and other genealogical information, as well as listing the applicant's service organizations and battle engagements in which they participated.

Pennsylvania paid over \$44 million in bonus money to approximately 322,000 World War I veterans, averaging \$138 per claim. Perhaps Hoffman's business success dissuaded him from filing for a veteran's bonus.



▲ *Photographic Postcard of Robert C. "Bob" Hoffman in World War I uniform, ca. 1918–19. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans' Affairs, Office of the Adjutant General, World War I Veterans' Service and Compensation File.*

Hoffman
Co A

Robert C
18th Inf

NATIONAL GUARD

State of _____

ENLISTMENT PAPER OF

Hoffman
(Surname)

Robert C
(Christian name)

enlisted at _____ on
the 18th day of April, 1917
by M. S. MacDonald, 1st Lt. 18th Pa. Inf.
for Co. A 18th Inf (white) Pa. N.G.
(Organization or arm of service. See Instruction 3)

PRIOR SERVICE. (See Instruction 4.)

None

INSTRUCTIONS.

1. An enlistment paper will be made in the case of each soldier enlisted or re-enlisted for the National Guard and filed with the records of the organization to which the soldier is assigned. When an organization is called or drafted into the service of the United States the enlistment paper of every member thereof, whether present or absent, will be delivered to the United States mustering officer to be indorsed by him as indicated on the last page of the form and forwarded to The Adjutant General of the Army. The enlistment paper of a soldier enlisting or re-enlisting for an organization of the National Guard in the Federal States shall be forwarded directly to The Adjutant General of the recruiting officer's tri-monthly report. A duplicate of the enlistment paper will be furnished to the adjutant, city, or District of Columbia by the recruiting officer.

2. The recruiting officer will enter in organization or arm of service for white (showing also whether white or colored (white), N. Y. N. G.; "1st Sep. Bn. In. Bury C. 4th Field Arty. (white), R. Corps (colored), N. Y. N. G.; "Signal Bn. making the designation as definite as possible.

3. The correct name of the recruit, Christian name will not be abbreviated, than one name, only the first will be given, the others being represented by their initials. The name is correctly written appears on the enlistment paper.

4. The recruiting officer will enter in prior service of the soldier in the National Regular Army, Volunteer Army, Navy or may be, giving dates and, except for Nationalization and arm of the service.

Form No. 22-1, A. G. O.
(For NATIONAL GUARD)
Ed. Aug. 14-16-150,000.

1917 (1)

After being discharged from the military, He moved to York, Pennsylvania in 1920. Thereafter, he managed a store that sold automotive supplies in York. Later, he was a partner in two different oil burner manufacturing companies. Bob Hoffman gained national recognition in 1927 when he won the national heavy-weight championship in weightlifting. He founded the York Barbell Company in York, in 1938, which became a multi-million dollar weight manufacturing company. Bob Hoffman was recognized as a pioneer and innovator in the fields of weightlifting, weight training, and dietary supplements. Hoffman was the U.S. Olympic weightlifting coach from 1948-64. He was known as the "Father of World Weightlifting." In later years, Hoffman was also a local philanthropist who donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to build the extant seven-field Hoffman Stadium Complex in York and to sponsor numerous local teams.

Enlistment Paper of Robert C. "Bob" Hoffman, April 18, 1917. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans' Affairs, Office of the Adjutant General, Pennsylvania National Guard, Enlistment Records.

Abstract Card for the World War I Service of Robert C. "Bob" Hoffman, ca. 1920-21, Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans' Affairs, Office of the Adjutant General, World War I Veterans' Service and Compensation File.

Hoffman	Robert C	1,243,243	* White * Colored
(Surname)	(Christian name)	(Army serial number)	
Residence	Street and house number	(Town or city)	(County)
* Enlisted * R. A. N. G. * E. R. C. * Inducted at _____ on Apr 13, 1917			
Place of Birth: _____ Age or date of birth: _____			
Organizational service line, with dates of assignments and transfers: _____			
Grade, with date of appointment: _____			
Enlistment: _____			
Wounded in action (degree and date) Slightly about July 2, 1918			
Service years from May 5/18 to _____ from _____ to _____			
* Honorably discharged on demobilization _____ ch 27, 1918			
In view of occupation he was, on date of discharge, reported _____ per cent disabled.			
Remarks: _____			

Form No. 724-9, A. G. O. * Strike out words not applicable. Dates of departure from and arrival in the U. S.

1918

In the early years of war in Europe, 1914–16, the attention of the United States was concentrated on the Mexican border. Pennsylvania National Guard units were federalized and stationed along the Rio Grande during John J. Pershing's punitive expedition on the Mexican border in 1916. These soldiers returned home in the spring of 1917 only to learn of their nation's declaration of war against Germany. By September, Pennsylvania's National Guard units were assembled into a massive infantry division, its many elements training at Camp Hancock, Georgia. By General Order of October 11, these were designated the 28th Division and a red keystone shoulder patch was adopted for the Division. Sailing aboard the HMS *Olympic*, sister ship of the *Titanic*, the 28th Division landed in England in May 1918 and quickly moved onto the continent. Their arrival provided timely support for beleaguered French forces, some of which had mutinied the previous year, and had more recently suffered great losses on the front. In late June, twenty-four thousand 28th Division troops took up positions at Chateau Thierry.

Between June 28 and the cessation of hostilities on November 11, 1918, the 28th, also known as the Keystone or Iron Division, suffered about 14,000 casualties during fighting in the Chateau Thierry, Champagne-Marne, Aisne-Marne, Fismes, Oise-Aisne, Clermont, Meuse-Argonne, and Thiaucourt sectors. From November 1918 to April 1919, the division remained in France salvaging battlefields, building roads, drilling, and fighting off boredom with athletic contests. These units sailed for America in late April, were demobilized at Camp Dix, New Jersey, and on May 15 were welcomed home during a victory parade in Philadelphia.

As a result of what war historian and photographer Susan D.

Moeller has called the photograph's ability to "manipulate, persuade, and convince . . . just because of the presumption and assumption that it was telling the truth," it was a medium of documenting war that the United States Army attempted to control during World War I. Although the War Department bowed to pressure to accredit civilian photographers, official Army photographers took five times more photographs than all accredited civilian photographers put together. At the port of embarkation, the Army assigned a small photographic team to each combat division. That team accompanied the division throughout its service in Europe. Young Edward Steichen was one of the soldier-photographers who became distinguished for his aerial photography.

At war's end, thousands of official photographs were cataloged at American Expeditionary Forces Headquarters. These photographs fulfilled important historical, educational and propaganda roles according to the Army's Chief Signal Officer's 1919 summation. They were an objective record of military service and a tool for building unit esprit de corps. For later generations, the photographic record instructs us as to the nature of warfare and illuminates the service of our ancestors.

Second Lieutenant Charles R. Darwin was the photographer of the 28th Division, which was Pennsylvania's major contribution to the huge army trained in 1917 for overseas action. Each positive print bears a numerical designation that relates it to a Signal Corps catalog. Accompanying the photographs in file folders are mimeograph copies of textual photograph descriptions extracted from the catalog. Among the subjects covered are unit training, doughboys with weapons and equipment, battle damage in French villages, reconstruction scenes, prisoners of war, hospital scenes, and soldier recreation.

► Members of Company E, 10th Regiment Infantry, formerly 13th and 14th Regiment Infantry, Pennsylvania National Guard, passing through town captured by their comrades at Varennes-en-Argonne, France, September 26, 1918. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of the Military and Veterans' Affairs, War History Collection, Photographs



◀ One Hundred and Third Regiment Engineers, passing through Coulange, France with 28th Division, August 4, 1918. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans' Affairs, War History Collection, Photographs






▲ Map depicting the route of the 28th Division in France, 1918. Record Group 19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans Affairs, War History Commission, General File.



Main Street near Clinton


 Ruins left behind by the Johnstown Flood of May 31, 1889. This view shows Johnstown's Main Street near its intersection with Clinton. Pauline Lawson Scrapbook on the Johnstown Flood. Manuscript Group 218, Photograph Collections.

Community Life

1889

The Johnstown Flood of May 31, 1889, was not a natural disaster, but one caused by the faulty workmanship on a dam. A reservoir formerly used to fill canals for the old State Works system had been purchased by the South Fork Hunting and Fishing Club in 1879. The club, comprised primarily of wealthy Pittsburgh industrialists, included among its members such well-known figures as Andrew Carnegie, Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Mellon, Philander C. Knox, and Robert Pitcairn. The club arranged to replace the washed out dam without employing proper engineering techniques or discharge pipes, and despite concerns voiced by local residents, a seven hundred-acre lake was created behind the dam to provide fishing and boating opportunities for club members. Over the next ten years, however, the concern over a possible dam failure grew so commonplace that became a joke among Johnstown residents. For this reason, telegraphed warnings from South Fork on Wednesday afternoon, May 31, 1889, that the dam had finally burst were not taken seriously. Many Johnstown residents went on about their daily affairs, making no effort to evacuate. Contemporary journalists described the horror that followed as twenty million tons of water cascaded down the valley of the Conemaugh River, in what quickly became the most newsworthy event in America since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

According to an unnamed journalist's article entitled "And the Floods Came" from the American News Company's 1889 publication, *Conemaugh: A Graphic Story of the Johnstown Flood, from the Pens of Journalists Who Were in the Valley*:

[The water,] . . . carrying death and destruction before it down through the beautiful valley, and, with a rush and a roar as if

a mighty demon controlled the released floods, tore down through the mountain gorge, out upon the fertile hillsides, cutting and ploughing its way over and through obstructions, hurling buildings, stone as readily as timber, out of its way, or carrying them along, crushed and wrecked, on its spray-tipped surface, until the towns which dotted the valley were reached, where the torrent, only lashed into greater fury by the puny obstructions, swirled, and ground, and roared, until all moveable things were heaped in a fantastic and confused mass of ruin, awful in its grandeur and terrible in its slaughter of human lives. The works of men went down like mere gossamer fabrics before the unreleased elements of nature.

Another article from the same source entitled "Johnstown Flood" continues:

The drift piled up against the dam it had formed at the bridge. House after house added its wreck to the heap until it formed a tangled mass from thirty to sixty feet thick, rising high above the water and stretching back three fourths of a mile along the curve of the hill. The most awful culmination of the night was the roasting of hundreds of persons in mid-flood. The ruins . . . swept against the new railroad bridge at Johnstown, and from an overturned stove, or some such cause, the upper part of the wreckage caught fire. There were crowds of men, women, and children on the wreck, and their screams were soon added to the chorus of horror.

An estimated 2,200 people perished in the disaster, and many of the bodies unable to be identified were buried in a cemetery high above Johnstown, beneath identical, unmarked tombstones.



Portrait of Mira Lloyd Dock, 8" x 10" silver gelatin print, ca. 1900. Manuscript Group 43, Dock Family Papers.

1900

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, business and community leaders across the country began recognizing and responding to urban squalor and deplorable conditions in American cities, especially in the northeast, brought on by the Industrial Revolution. These Progressive Era efforts became known as the “City Beautiful” Movement, characterized by historian William Wilson as the “United States’ first attempt at self-conscious nationwide urban planning. It pioneered efforts in comprehensive planning, building design, and in the fusion of naturalistic park systems with classicistic civic centers.” According to Wilson, it influenced the design and management of many cities, “from New York to San Francisco. Its effects are still felt today. Wide tree-lined boulevards and monumental but low lying buildings . . . were designed to break up the American gridiron of clogged streets and uncontrolled growth.”

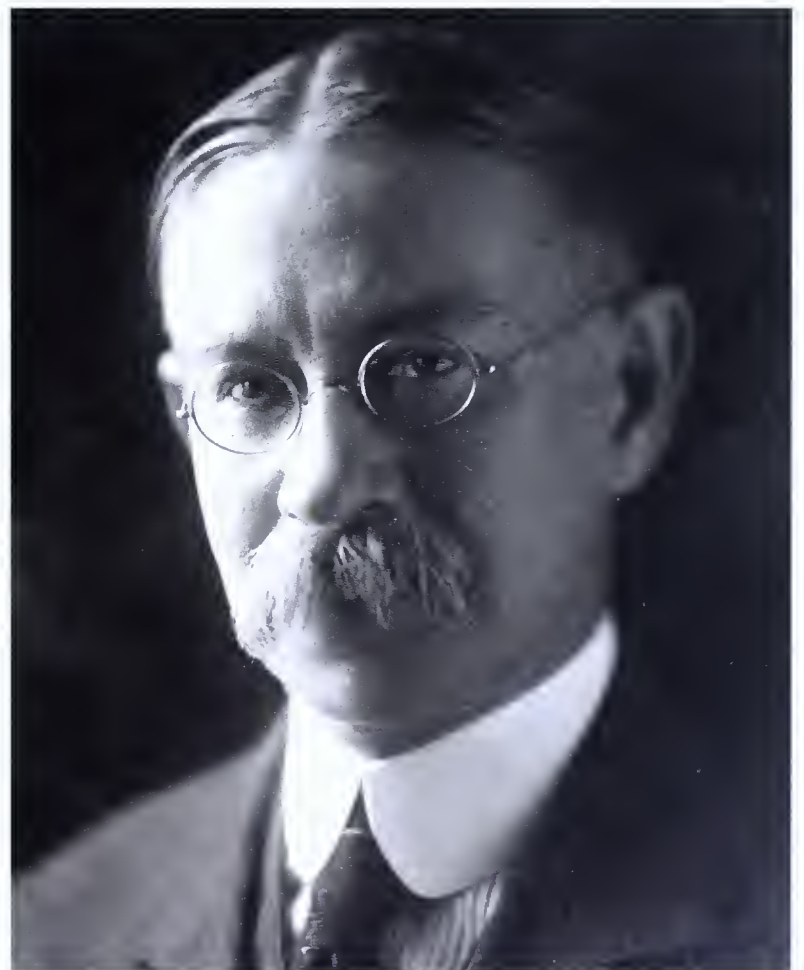
The City Beautiful philosophy was grounded in the belief that better and improved cities produced better and improved citizens. The movement’s beginnings may be traced to two friends and civic reformers—Mira Lloyd Dock and J. Horace McFarland—who helped transform the urban landscape of Harrisburg.

Mira Lloyd Dock (1853–1945), came from a prominent Pennsylvania family and studied horticulture at the University of Michigan. Her accomplishments included becoming the first female member of the State Forestry Reservation Commission (1901–13), serving as a delegate to the International Congress of Women in London in 1899, and helping to establish the South Mountain Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Mont Alto in Franklin County. She was also a dominant figure in the Pennsylvania Forestry Association and an avid photographer and lecturer.

John Horace McFarland (1859–1948) was born near McAllisterville and learned the printing trade from his father. He moved to Harrisburg in the 1880s, where he established the Mount Pleasant Press, later known as the McFarland Press. The company gained most of its profits from the printing of seed catalogs for the W. Atlee Burpee Company of Warminster, and other nurseries. McFarland had a great interest in horticulture, especially rose cultivation, of which there are three varieties named for him. From 1904 to 1924, he served as the first president of the American Civic Association, a lobbying organization that prompted the federal government to establish the National Park Service in 1916.

At the turn of the twentieth century, most of Harrisburg’s streets were unpaved, rutted, mud paths; there were open sewers

and few, if any, public parks. The banks of the Susquehanna River at the western edge of the city were used as garbage dumps and the river itself was a source of typhoid and cholera. Dock, McFarland, and others such as the youthful mayor of Harrisburg, Vance McCormick, sought to change this situation through comprehensive urban planning. They proposed the idea of a city taxable bond, to be voted upon during the 1902 primary election. The bond would raise enough funds for several projects including covering the open sewers, paving streets and sidewalks, turning the Susquehanna’s steep banks into a park, and creating a dam to raise the river level above sewer drains. In the months before the election, McFarland and Dock actively promoted their cause by cultivating Harrisburg’s business and civic community groups. McFarland arranged to have Miss Dock speak before the members of the Harrisburg Board of Trade. She illustrated her talks with photographs she made herself. Dock, in turn, arranged to have McFarland speak and show slides before the ladies of the Civic Club of Harrisburg, an organization she had co-founded in 1898. The photographs presented to these groups were critical to the



Portrait of J. Horace McFarland, ca. 1900. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers.



movement's success. The two speakers impressed their audiences with dramatic images, such as comparisons of the unpaved muddy streets of Harrisburg with the beautiful tree-lined boulevards of the great cities of Europe made by Dock during her 1899 trip abroad. They also showed views of the same buildings, parks, and streets before and after improvement. McFarland especially liked to contrast the beautiful and the ugly within the same image frame, such as a garbage dump alongside a church.

The strategy worked; the bond was overwhelmingly approved by a margin of two to one. Within fifteen years, the improvements Dock and McFarland had envisioned for Harrisburg were accomplished, and additional projects were under development. McFarland subsequently took the "Harrisburg Plan" of securing public funding for internal improvement on the road, conducting illustrated lectures all around the country. The plan became a model for the beautification of other cities across America.

▲ *Sea view from Calder and Reily Streets, Harrisburg, 1900," 8" x 10" glass gelatin photographic print by J. Horace McFarland
Manuscript Group 43, Dock Family Papers*

▲ *Harmon, Front Steps from Market Street Bridge looking out, November 12, 1914" (construction of Riverfront Park), 5" x 7" photographic print by J. Horace McFarland Co. Manuscript Group 55, J. Horace McFarland Papers.*



1902

Several of the most important legal documents in the history of major league baseball were created during a legal battle that resulted from Napoleon Lajoie jumping his contract with the National League's Philadelphia Phillies in order to play for the upstart American League Philadelphia Athletics. The Athletics gained instant credibility as a major league team, and helped to create animosity between the two leagues. The Lajoie case is still relevant in sports law today.

After the 1900 baseball season, the newly-formed American League declared open war on the National League. They renounced baseball's reserve clause that had bound players to the team they had initially signed with until that team no longer wished to continue their employment. Bidding wars were fought between the two leagues over players. The National League lost over one hundred players to the American League for the 1901 season. Future Hall of Fame inductees, including Wilbert Robinson, John McGraw, and Napoleon Lajoie jumped leagues for that season. The issue was over money, as the American League paid more than the National League. Lajoie was the biggest loss for the National League service he was the most skilled hitter of the day. Nap, as he was called, won the Triple Crown in the American League in 1901, leading the junior circuit in batting average, home runs, and runs batted in. His batting average of .426 is still the highest ever achieved in an American league season.

In early 1901, the owner of the Philadelphia Phillies, Colonel John L. Rogers, filed suit in state court to try to regain Lajoie's services. Rogers and his team, the Philadelphia Ball Club, Limited, were the plaintiffs vs. Napoleon Lajoie, Benjamin F. Shibe, president, Cornelius Magillicuddy (Connie Mack), manager and treasurer of the American League Base Ball Club, and Frank Hough, agent, the defendants. Common Pleas Court No. 5 rejected the Philadelphia Phillies request for an injunction against Lajoie and the American League on May 17, 1901. The Phillies promptly appealed this decision.

The Lajoie case was argued before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, on January 16, 1902. Two days before opening day of the 1902 baseball season, the court reversed the lower court's decision and prohibited Lajoie from playing for any baseball club other than the Phillies. The Supreme Court concluded that, "the services of the defendant are of such a unique character, and display such a special knowledge, skill and ability as renders them of

peculiar value to the plaintiff. The action of the defendant in violating his contract is a breach of good faith, for which there would be no adequate redress at law, and the case therefore properly calls for the aid of equity, in negatively enforcing the performance of the contract . . . Substantial justice between the parties requires that the court should restrain the defendant from playing for any other Baseball Club during the term of his contract with the plaintiff." This decision, filed on April 21, 1902, upheld the reserve clause and the Phillies' claim to Lajoie and established injunctions as a legal remedy to players failing to honor their contracts.

National League owners hailed the decision as a victory. The American League promised to fight the Supreme Court's decision. Manager Connie Mack played Lajoie in the Philadelphia Athletics' season opener in Baltimore against the Orioles on April 23, 1902. Mack received a telegram, during the game, informing him that the Supreme Court had issued an injunction barring Lajoie from playing for the Athletics. Mack then removed Lajoie from what would end up being his last game as an Athletic for thirteen years.

Napoleon Lajoie appealed the Supreme Court's decision on May 3, 1902. He would not play another major league game for months as lawyers and club owners debated the meaning of the court's ruling. Eventually, it was decided that the injunction was only effective in Pennsylvania. Not wishing to lose its greatest star, the American League persuaded the Athletics management to transfer Lajoie to the Cleveland franchise. For the remainder of 1902 he was unable to play any games in Philadelphia when the Cleveland ball club was visiting. Lajoie did not even accompany the Cleveland team, for fear of contempt of court citations or civil lawsuits.

The American League outdrew the National League at the box office in the three cities in which they competed in 1902—Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago. The National League had to recognize that the American League was too successful to destroy. Peace was made between the two leagues in early 1903 as the American League agreed to recognize the national agreement which included the reserve clause. Players who had jumped leagues during the "war" of 1901–2 were allowed to stay with their present teams. The Phillies allowed the injunction against Lajoie to be dismissed by not continuing their action on January 5, 1903. Napoleon Lajoie continued his stellar major league career through 1916 and was elected to the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 1937.

In the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT.

Philadelphia Ball Club,
limited

Court of Common Pleas No. 5—
of the County of Philadelphia

March Term, 1901

No. 789

Plaintiff
Napoleon Lajoie and the Philadelphia American League
Base Ball Club, B.F. Shibe, president;
Cornelius Magillkendy, manager and treasurer,
and Frank L. Hough, agent; and B.F. Shibe,
Cornelius Magillkendy and Frank L. Hough,
acting as the Philadelphia American League
Base Ball Club, Defendants

Enter Appeal on behalf of Napoleon Lajoie, defendant—
from decree of the Court of Common Pleas No. 5—
of the County of Philadelphia
Wm Jay Turner
Richard L. Dale
attys for deft—
To Charles S. Greene, Prothonotary
Supreme Court—Eastern District.

County of Philadelphia ss.
Napoleon Lajoie being duly sworn saith that said Appeal is not
taken for the purpose of delay, but because Appellant believe he has suffered injustice
by the decree from which he appeals

Sworn and subscribed, }
this 3^d day of May A. D. 1902 } Napoleon Lajoie

John D. Morris
Notary Public
Comm. Expires Feb. 28/1913

◀ Napoleon Lajoie's Appeal of the
Supreme Court of Pennsylvania's
decision to grant an injunction to
prohibit him from playing baseball
with any team other than the
Philadelphia Phillies, May 3, 1902.
Record Group 33, Records of the
Supreme Court, Eastern District.
Appeal Papers, January Term 1902

▼ Judgment of Non Pros entered
by the Supreme Court of
Pennsylvania which effectively dis-
continued the injunction against
Lajoie playing baseball for teams
other than the Philadelphia Phillies.
Record Group 33, Records of the
Supreme Court, Eastern District.
Appeal Papers.

326 January Term, 1902

PHILADELPHIA BALL CLUB,
LIMITED,

Appellant,

vs.

NAPOLEON LAJOIE.

---o---

Appeal from the Decree of
the Court of Common Pleas
No. 5 of Philadelphia
County.

FILED

APR 21 1902

IN SUPREME COURT

The decree of the court
below is reversed, and
the bill is re-instated,
and injunction allowed.

Potter J.

1908

Founded in Philadelphia in 1886 for the promotion of scientific forestry, the Pennsylvania Forestry Association was the first organization of its kind in the United States. The group arose from the late nineteenth-century concern over the rampant and uncontrolled destruction of Penn's woods by industry, commerce, farming, and fire, and it strongly influenced the creation of the American Forestry Association in 1889. Both groups remain strong and active today. The Pennsylvania Forestry Association served as a model for similar statewide associations across the nation, and was the major lobbying group for the creation of the State Forestry Commission within the Department of Agriculture in 1895—now the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources.

The image below depicting Pennsylvania Forestry Association members meeting at the Graeffenburg Inn in 1908 is significant for its location and the nationally important forestry and environmental leaders who were present. The association regularly met at the Graeffenburg, a former stagecoach stop famed for its mineral springs that was located on the Lincoln Highway near Fayetteville in Franklin County. Destroyed by fire in the 1980s,

the inn stood on the boundary of Michaux State Forest that was named for the noted French botanist André Michaux. Within a few miles of the inn are a number of places significant to Pennsylvania forest history. The area had been heavily timbered in the nineteenth century to produce charcoal for iron furnaces, the most notable being the Caledonia Furnace owned by Thaddeus Stevens. The nearby Mont Alto State Forest Park was created in 1902. A year later, the Mont Alto State Forest Academy was established, the first such institution in the Commonwealth, and one of the first in the nation dedicated to training professional foresters. The academy became part of the Pennsylvania State College, now The Pennsylvania State University, in 1927.

The most significant of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association's members shown below is Dr. Joseph Trimble Rothrock, considered "the Father of Pennsylvania Forestry" (seated with beard, first row right of center). A Civil War veteran born in McVeytown, Mifflin County, he graduated from Harvard and earned a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1867. He was a driving force behind the Pennsylvania Forestry Association, serving as its first president. Rothrock was the state's first Commissioner of Forestry. During his tenure he established the

► "Gathering of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association, Graeffenburg Inn, Michaux State Forest, Franklin County, June 11, 1908," 5" x 7" silver gelatin photographic print. Record Group 6, Records of the Department of Forests and Waters. Public Relations Office, Photographs and Negatives.



Mont Alto Forest Academy, the tuberculosis camp at South Mountain, and a tower and telephone relay system to fight forest fires. He also set in motion the reforestation of Pennsylvania by purchasing large numbers of acres of forest and watershed areas and creating tree nurseries and planting camps. His methods became models for other states to follow.

Mira Lloyd Dock was the first female member of the State Forestry Reservation Commission set up by the State Forestry Commission to acquire land for forest reservations. She assisted Rothrock in many projects, including the creation of the tuberculosis camp at South Mountain. She was born and lived near Fayetteville and is shown (page 207) seated in the second row on the steps, sixth from the right.

The Honorable Simon B. Elliott, of Mansfield, representative in the General Assembly for Potter and Tioga Counties (1861–62), was a member of the State Forestry Reservation Commission who supported the creation of tree nurseries. The S.B. Elliott State Park in Clearfield County, dedicated in 1933, is named for him (seated to Mira Dock's right).

George H. Wirt, (third from left, third row) from McVeytown, was the first State Forester appointed by Rothrock in 1901, just after his graduation from the Biltmore School. He was the first director of the Mont Alto Forest Academy (1903–10). In 1915 he became the first Chief Forest Fire Warden for the Commonwealth and served the Forestry Department in various capacities until his retirement in 1946.

Joseph S. Illick, (seated on grass on the far left in the front row) born in Easton and a graduate of Lafayette College, was a newly-appointed botany professor at Mont Alto Forest Academy in 1908. He also studied at the University of Munich, and the Biltmore School. He joined the state Department of Forestry in 1919 as Director of Silviculture and Research. Illick served as Pennsylvania State Forester from 1927 to 1931. He was a renowned forestry educator and author of many books, including *Pennsylvania Trees* (1913) and *Tree Habits—How to Know the Hardwoods* (1924).



"Governor Pinchot wielding shovel, Lewisberry-Rossville road program York County, July 23, 1931." Record Group 12, Records of the Department of Highways.

Robert S. Conklin (seated below Mira Dock in straw hat) succeeded Rothrock in 1904 as Forestry Commissioner and expanded his programs, including the creation of a research center at Mont Alto, continuing to purchase state forest land totaling one million acres by the end of his tenure in 1920. Conklin Hall at Mont Alto Forest Academy is named for him.

Conspicuous in his absence from the group is Gifford Pinchot. In 1908, Pinchot was Chief Forester in the U.S. Division of Forestry under President Theodore Roosevelt. A founder of modern environmental conservation, Pinchot served two terms as governor of Pennsylvania (1923–27 and 1931–35). The son of a wealthy Connecticut family, Pinchot studied forestry in Nancy, France, in 1890, becoming the first American to be professionally trained as a forester. Under his aegis as Chief Forester, over two hundred million acres of the United States became part of the national forest system. As governor, during 1931 he created a system of work camps throughout the state to employ poor youths for public projects, an idea later adopted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as the Civilian Conservation Corps. The work camps, which paved over twenty thousand miles of state dirt roads, helped "take the farmer out of the mud." Many of his policies are still in use today. He once stated, "I have been governor every now and then, but I am a forester all the time."

1911

The J. Horace McFarland Company of Harrisburg printed catalogs for seed companies and nurseries across the United States. The company was founded in 1891 by John Horace McFarland (1859–1948), horticulturalist, rosarian, printer, advocate for civic beautification, and father of the National Park Service. The company continued after his death, until 1994, and its records are now housed at the State Archives.

Photographic reproduction for printed media was still in its infancy when McFarland began his company. Frederick E. Ives is credited with the invention of the halftone photograph, which he introduced at an exhibition in Philadelphia in 1881. Previously, printers had to first produce a copy of an image through lithographic or wood engravings to reproduce it for mass print media. This was expensive and time consuming. Ives revolutionized the process by making it faster and cheaper. The halftone technique broke a photographic image into a series of black dots on a screen, widely separated ones for light tones, and densely packed dots for darker tones. The screened image could then be placed on a printer's block and added to the layout along with text. McFarland was likely the first printer to use halftones for horticultural catalogs.

Color photography and color printing were also nascent processes. As a printer, McFarland was keenly interested in any advances in color imagery for the horticultural subjects adorning the pages of his clients' catalogs. It was important for customer appeal, and therefore sales, to have roses the proper hues of red, the oranges orange, the peas green, and so forth. Following his success with the halftone

process, Frederick Ives turned his attention to color photography, creating a camera that made three negatives per exposure, one for each of the three primary colors in the spectrum, blue, red, and yellow. Others such as the Lumière Brothers of Lyons, France, created and patented the autochrome process in America in 1907, the first commercially successful color photography. The autochrome utilized grains of potato starch as a filter and emulsifier, giving the resultant image warm tones. McFarland claimed to be the first in America to use the autochrome commercially. He later abandoned it in the 1930s for the early color films produced by Agfa and Kodak that came to dominate the industry. McFarland also honed his color printing skills by managing the New York firm of William Kurtz, the Coloritype Company, for a year in the late 1890s. Kurtz is recognized as the eminent pioneer in the three-color tritone photoengraving process.

Shown on the next page is an example of an autochrome and *below*, is a lantern slide copy of a cover of a typical seed catalog produced by his company in 1911, featuring halftone reproductions.



▲ Halftone cover from Dibble's Farm Seed Catalog, 1911. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers. Lantern Slides.



▲ *Rose-Climbing Americ in Beauty.* undated 6 1/2" x 8 1/2" autochrome plate. Manuscript Group 85, J. Honore McFarland Papers.

his refusal of the World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840 to seat Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott because of their gender foreshadowed the beginning of the modern crusade for equal rights for women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton composed the original Declaration of Sentiments in July 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, that articulated, among other goals, women's obligation to secure the right to vote. At the Seneca Falls Convention held on July 19–20, 1848, one hundred of the three hundred men and women present signed the Seneca Falls Declaration. In 1851, Elizabeth Cady Stanton joined temperance campaigner Susan B. Anthony in a determined effort to make woman suffrage a reality. When suffragettes were refused permission to present a copy of the Declaration of Independence for Women at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia on July 4, 1876, they nonetheless succeeded in making their voices heard. After the public reading of the original Declaration of Independence by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, nationally recognized suffragette Susan B. Anthony, accompanied by Matilda Gage, Sara Spencer, Lillie Blake, and Phoebe Couzins, boldly strode to the front of the musician's platform and proceeded to read the entire text of the Declaration of Independence for Women even as the poet Bayard Taylor was reciting his National Ode from the speaker's platform.

As the first generation of suffragettes began to pass from the scene, Carrie Chapman Catt of the National American Women's

Suffrage Association emerged as a leading national figure in the woman suffrage movement from 1890. Liliane Stevens Howard, a second-generation suffragette who grew up in Indiana, later moved to Pennsylvania where she became active in the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, the Philadelphia

Liliane Stevens Howard

FIELD REPORT TO STATE CHAIRMAN

Sample copy

- July 20th Began campaign in Lawrence County, NEW CASTLE, 3 P.M. Conference of officers at home of Miss Lulu Boyes.
- July 21st Arrangements made relative to activities, 3 P.M. Meeting at home of Miss Sarah E. Sankey, 14 suffragists present. Discussion of work past and future.
- July 22nd Interview with Mrs. James M. Smith, 4 P.M. Grocers' Picnic at Cascade Park. Spoke for an hour from Band Stand, 27 signatures.
- July 23rd Meeting in Fifth Ward 3 P.M. at home of Mrs. I.B. Griffith. Leader appointed. Sold some novelties. Arranged also to have question of suffrage introduced at next meeting of the Negro Womans Club, which meets throughout the year, a federated organization. These women are very intelligent and it looks promising for organization among them, at 8 P.M. spoke at festival in Fifth Ward. Rain probably kept many away 13 signatures.
- July 24th Mrs. Baer desires to resign chairmanship. Made calls, looking for material for leader. Meeting scheduled for Ellwood called off at last hour. Women having it in hand failed to arrange. Attended lawn festival.
- July 25th Lincoln Chautauqua opened 2:30 P.M. Six girls distributed literature afternoon and evening. Secured some signatures. NEW WILMINGTON: 8 P.M. meeting in church tent. Platform decorated with black-eyed Susans. R.G. Ferguson, D.D., former president of Westminster College, presided; about 75 present, 37 enrolled. R.M. Russell, D.D., present president strongly favors suffrage. Just gone on vacation. In the Tri-State Debate on suffrage in the spring, the Westminster team won on every point. The Redpath-Brockway Chautauqua meets August 28th. Farmers Institute is held in College Chapel.
- July 27th Chautauqua at 2:30 and 7:30 P.M. Literature and signatures.
- July 28th Chautauqua 2:30 P.M. Woman's Day. Mrs. Curtis of Texas spoke strongly for suffrage, 55 signatures.
- July 29th - 31st Clarion Co. Suffrage booth at Harvest Home Picnic, Alcola Park, in charge of Mrs. Mundorf. Spoke in pavilion during afternoon program, also at booth.
- July 31st NEW BETHLEHEM, Clarion County. 8 P.M. Open air meeting. Spoke from steps of bank. About 100 present. Mrs. Mundorf assisted.
- August 1st Returned to New Castle.
- August 3rd MAHONINGTOWN, Made eight calls. Tried to arrange meeting. Secured five signatures. This town though a half hour's ride is Seventh Ward of New Castle.
- NEW CASTLE 8:30 P.M. spoke before the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Club (Afro-American) at home of Mrs. Julia Fitzhugh, 16

▲ First page of a Field Report addressed to the State Chairman of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, July 20–August 8 [1915], 8 1/2" x 11" typescript. Manuscript Group 73, Liliane Howard Stevens Collection.

County Woman Suffrage Association, and the Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs. By the 1890s, many men and women continued to believe that women properly presided over a distinctively feminine domestic sphere and remained unconvinced by the suffragettes' argument that women deserved the same political rights as men. The field report by Liliane Stevens Howard made about 1915 (page 211) illustrates the kind of reactions she was receiving from citizens groups in Lawrence and Clarion Counties. Those who opposed granting women suffrage feared that it would promote promiscuity, divorce, and child neglect.

The Women's Club movement played a particularly important role in taming the radical image of suffragists by concentrating on how women's suffrage would allow specifically feminine domestic values a greater influence over the political realm, thereby allowing the movement to win wider popular support. The role many women played in industrial production, business, medicine and the professions during World War I also played a decisive part in modifying popular perceptions of women's suffrage. By 1916, both the Democratic and Republican Parties endorsed enfranchising women. After thirty-nine states granted women the right to vote, on June 4, 1919, the United States Congress approved a constitutional amendment enfranchising women for ratification by individual state legislatures. Pennsylvania became the eighth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment on June 27, 1919, and it became law when the thirty-sixth state ratified in August 1920. Though most women were satisfied with this victory at the time, committed feminists such as Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party continued to fight for an end to all forms of discrimination based upon gender. In 1971, Pennsylvanians ratified an Equal Rights Amendment for the state constitution.

▼ *Joint Resolution Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women, June 5, 1919. Printed and typed on paper and having an attached silk cord and embossed seal of the U.S. Department of State. Record Group 26, Records of the Department of State, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Executive Correspondence.*

No. 3687

United States of America



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify That the copy hereto attached is a true copy of a resolution of Congress entitled "Joint Resolution Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women." the original of which is on file in this Department.

In testimony whereof I, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the Seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Chief Clerk of the said Department, at the City of Washington, this 5th day of June, 1919.

Frank L. Polk
Acting Secretary of State.
By Ben Davis
Chief Clerk.

1918

The drawings *below*, and on page 214 depict the mansion at Graeme Park near Horsham erected by Pennsylvania Deputy Governor Sir William Keith in 1722. The oldest surviving residence of a colonial Pennsylvania deputy governor, this two-story stone building was remodeled by Keith's son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Graeme, as an elegant Georgian country seat during the middle of the eighteenth century. The interior of the mansion today retains original floorboards, paneling, and interior paint from the period of Dr. Graeme's remodeling. The drawings depict the first and second floor plans, all four exterior elevations, all four interior parlour elevations, details of woodwork in the parlour, and the west side parlour windows, dining room paneling and windows, the front doorway, and newel posts and balusters of the main staircase. Also present are depictions of the west and south chambers, and a plan of a third floor chamber, and the second and third floor stair hall.

Trained as a physician at the University of Leiden, Dr. Thomas Graeme became master of the Court of Chancery in 1725 and was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court in 1731. Born in 1739, Dr. Thomas Graeme's only daughter, Elizabeth, was a famous amateur poet possessed of a facility for translating such samples of French verse as Fenelon's *Telemaque*. Elizabeth

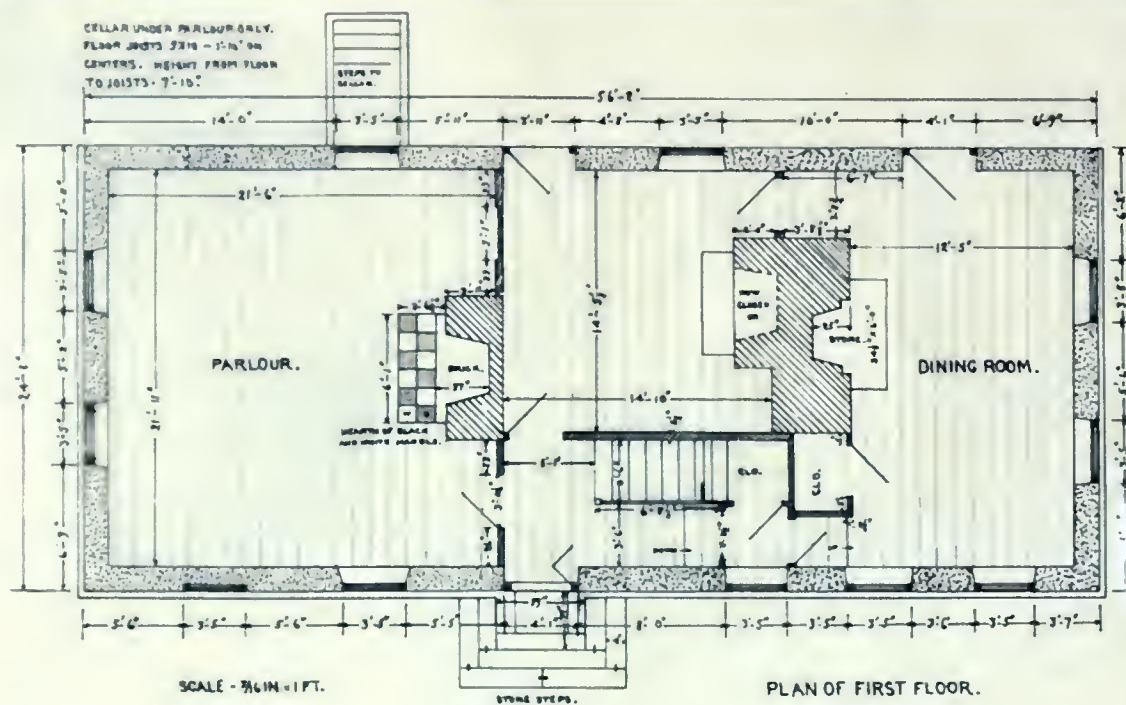
corresponded with contemporary poets and held well-attended Saturday evening salons at Graeme Park. Though Benjamin Franklin's son, William, fell in love with her, his departure for England ended their relationship. She was addressed as Laura in several Petrarchian poems written by Nathaniel Evans of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, including one entitled "Ode Written at Graeme Park." She spent a year in Europe chaperoned by the Reverend Dr. Richard Peters and upon her return married Hugh Henry Ferguson of Scotland. Ferguson was accused of treason after receiving a British military commission in 1776 and Graeme Park was seized as loyalist property. Elizabeth's title to Graeme Park was restored in 1781, but she never saw her husband again. In 1791 she sold the mansion to Dr. William Smith, her nephew by marriage, and he divided and sold off lots from the estate. Mr. and Mrs. Welsh Strawbridge acquired the land on which the main house stands in 1920 and restored the mansion to its original condition. These drawings, prepared about 1918, depict the mansion at that time. In 1958, the Strawbridges donated Graeme Park to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The mansion is now open to the public as a historic house museum administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

◀ Graeme Park
Architectural Drawing
prepared by architect
Donald McDonald
Miller, Front Eleva-
tion, ca. 1918-19,
Record Group 13,
Records of the Pennsylv-
ania Historical and
Museum Commission.
Graeme Park House
Drawings.



BUILT 1721-1722.

GRAEME PARK HOUSE,
HORSHAM, PA.



HOUSE BUILT IN 1721-1722.

GRAEME PARK HOUSE,
HORSHAM, PA.

Plan of First Floor, ca. 1918-19. Record Group 13, Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Graeme Park House Drawings.

East and West Elevations, ca. 1918-19. Record Group 13, Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Graeme Park House Drawings.



1919

On January 31, 1917, German Ambassador to the United States Johann Von Bernstorff informed Secretary of State Robert Lansing that Germany would resume unrestricted U-boat warfare in the waters around Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean. All ships military or merchant, enemy or neutral, would be fair game. After three months of indecision and worry, on the evening of April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson delivered his speech to Congress leading America into war. When the call to arms sounded, American women responded in force. Through charitable organizations, such as the American Red Cross, the National League for Women's Service, and the newly created Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense, women sought to demonstrate their capabilities in war-time during an era when they were struggling to win the right to vote.

One of the earliest war-related measures employing women was food production. Acknowledging the fact that a woman's responsibilities lay within the home, government propaganda campaigns used public service announcements, magazine articles, and advertising promotions centered upon the need for food conservation. Using phrases like "women's war work," "women power," and "kitchen soldiers," magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies' Home Journal* became closely aligned with the federal government in offering recipes, new products, and home management

skills that focused on food conservation. The Food Administration asked women to sign pledge cards agreeing to "carry out the directions and advice of the Food Administration, in so far as their circumstance permits."

Other organizations participated in similar extensions of "home" work. The women's branch of the Federal Food Production Department coordinated their activities with such volunteer organizations as the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association. They addressed the problem of a shortage of able-bodied men to bring in the harvest and women were called

upon to aid farmers in food production. With this idea in mind, the women's branch started to lay the foundation for the agricultural education of women.

In Pennsylvania, the Women's Division of the Committee of Public Safety was charged with myriad duties associated with National Defense. An organization having seventy-five chairmen in sixty-seven counties, the Women's Division consisted of the Departments of Registration and Organization, Food Conservation and Production, Women in Industry, Child Welfare, Education (with a Speakers' Bureau and Americanization Bureau), Liberty Loan, Foreign Relief, Health and Recreation, and Bureau of In-



ISSUED BY

WOMAN'S DIVISION

U. S. Food Administration for the Commonwealth
of Pennsylvania



▲ *Women's Division: U.S Food Administration for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Manuscript Group 200, Poster Collection.*

Sow the seeds of Victory!

plant &
raise
your own
vegetables



"Every Garden a Munition Plant"

Charles Lathrop Pack, President

◀ "Sow the seeds of Victory: Plant and raise your own vegetables." Manuscript Group 200, Poster Collection.

formation. There was also a standing Committee on Nursing. Through the Department of Food Conservation and Production and the Department of Industry, women were recruited for service in the "Land Army of America." Mostly operating in the southeastern section of the state, the Land Army's sole purpose was to "increase production as a national service, meet the question of labor shortage, and to use seasonal factory workers and educated women who wished to give patriotic service."

The farming units consisted of groups of six to forty women who lived in camps and worked on the farms. They lived in houses or tents that were furnished with cots, a shower or bath, and sometimes had library or recreational facilities. Each woman worked eight to nine hours a day. A few of the institutions that provided agricultural training to women were the School of Horticulture for Women in Ambler, Bryn Mawr College, Vassar College, and Cornell College. According to the *Farmerette*, the official newsletter of the Women's Land Army, Pennsylvania had 912 workers in twenty-two camps by January 1919. Fifty-one percent were college graduates, 11 percent were professionals,

and 20 percent were industrial workers. Their work was concentrated in vegetable gardening, orchards, dairying, poultry, and harvesting. The first annual convention of the Women's Land Army of America took place in Philadelphia on January 14 and 15, 1919.

Somewhat successful in their agricultural pursuits, women who joined the Land Army by war's end found themselves without employment. Though many were confident that their actions could sway public

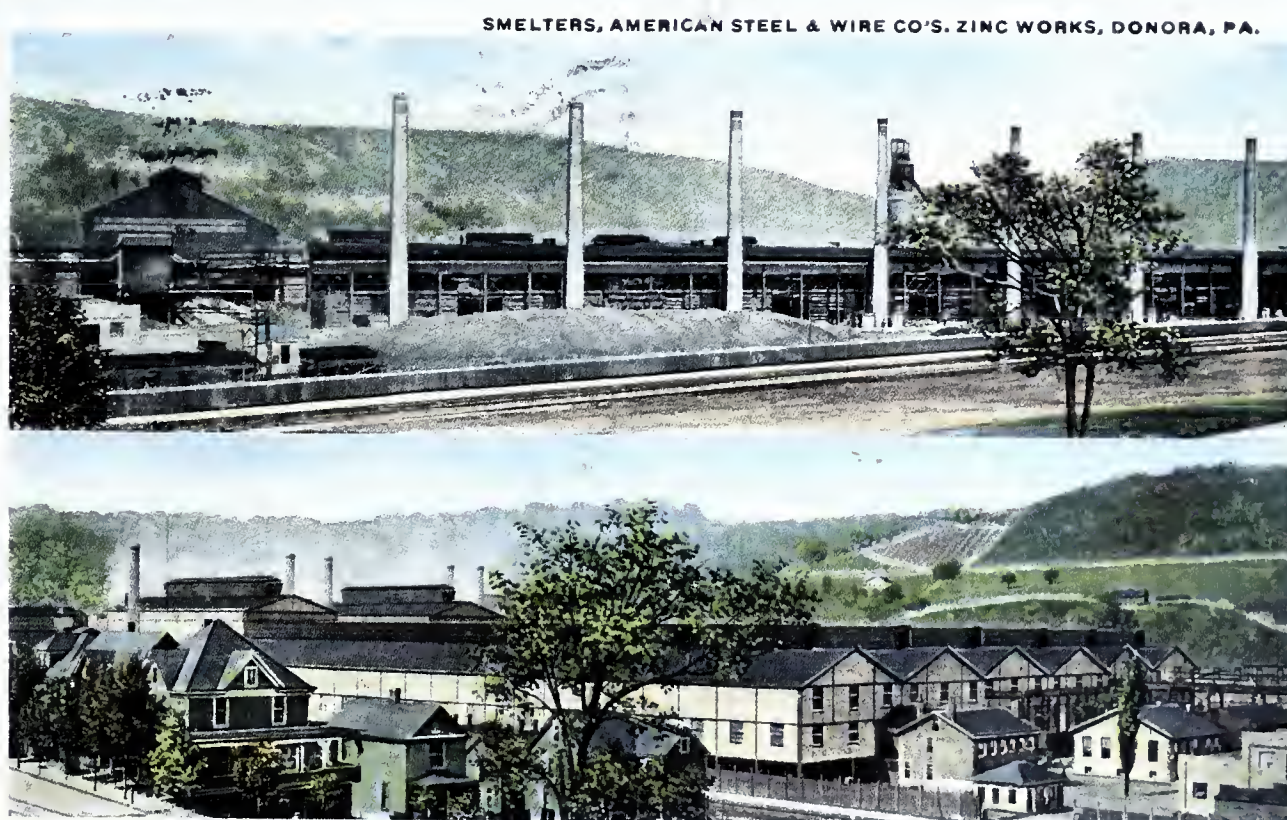
opinion, women were expected to return to their traditional pre-war roles as wives and mothers. Despite the fact that circulars and pamphlets were published to help women find new employment, many farms and industries refused to re-hire women during post-war demobilization. After two years of being part of the national work force, many women returned to roles similar to those they had filled prior to the war. Records relating to the Woman's Land Army will be found in General Correspondence, 1917-19; General File, 1917-20 Council of National Defense and Committee of Public Safety, Record Group 10, Office of the Governor.

On October 30 and 31, 1948, industrial air pollution in the vicinity of Donora, Pennsylvania, contributed to the deaths of nineteen people. Though seventeen of these individuals suffered from chronic heart disease or asthma, and two others had active pulmonary tuberculosis, approximately five hundred other residents of the area simultaneously became ill with severe respiratory symptoms. Located on the western bank of the Monongahela River in Washington County, the area where Donora is located was known as “Horseshoe Bottom” during the eighteenth century because of the curve in the river with nearby hills rising four hundred feet above the river’s surface. The birth of the modern town of Donora coincided with heavy industrial development in the valley in 1901 and the name is a contraction of the names of Nora Mellon and W. H. Donner who were connected with the Union Steel Company that became the American Steel and Wire Works. In 1902 the Carnegie Steel Company constructed two blast furnaces, twelve open-hearth furnaces, and a forty foot blooming mill in the valley. All of this construction was accompanied by the erection of the Matthew Woven Wire Fence Company. In 1915 the Donora Zinc Works began production and in 1916 a third rod mill was constructed.

By 1948 more than fourteen thousand people resided in Donora, many recently arrived immigrants. For years residents had complained of industrial pollutants that ate paint off the outside of houses and prevented fish from living in the river. An investigation of the Donora Smog disaster revealed extraordinarily high levels of sulfur dioxide, soluble sulfates, and fluorides in the air on October 30 and 31 that were emitted by the zinc smelting plant and the steel mills’ open hearth furnaces with a sulfuric acid plant, slag dumps, the coal-burning steam locomotives, and riverboats contributing to the problem. An unusually dense fog, such as was not previously experienced by any living residents, apparently held this dense cloud of pollutants in the valley on those days.

Pennsylvania’s Governor James H. Duff received a large volume of correspondence from across the nation as well as from local residents directly affected by the disaster. One letter from area resident Mrs. Lois Bainbridge not only makes specific reference to the Donora event but comments on issues that reflected

▼ *Smelters, American Steel and Wire Company Zinc Works, Donora, Washington County. Manuscript Group 213, Postcard Collection.*

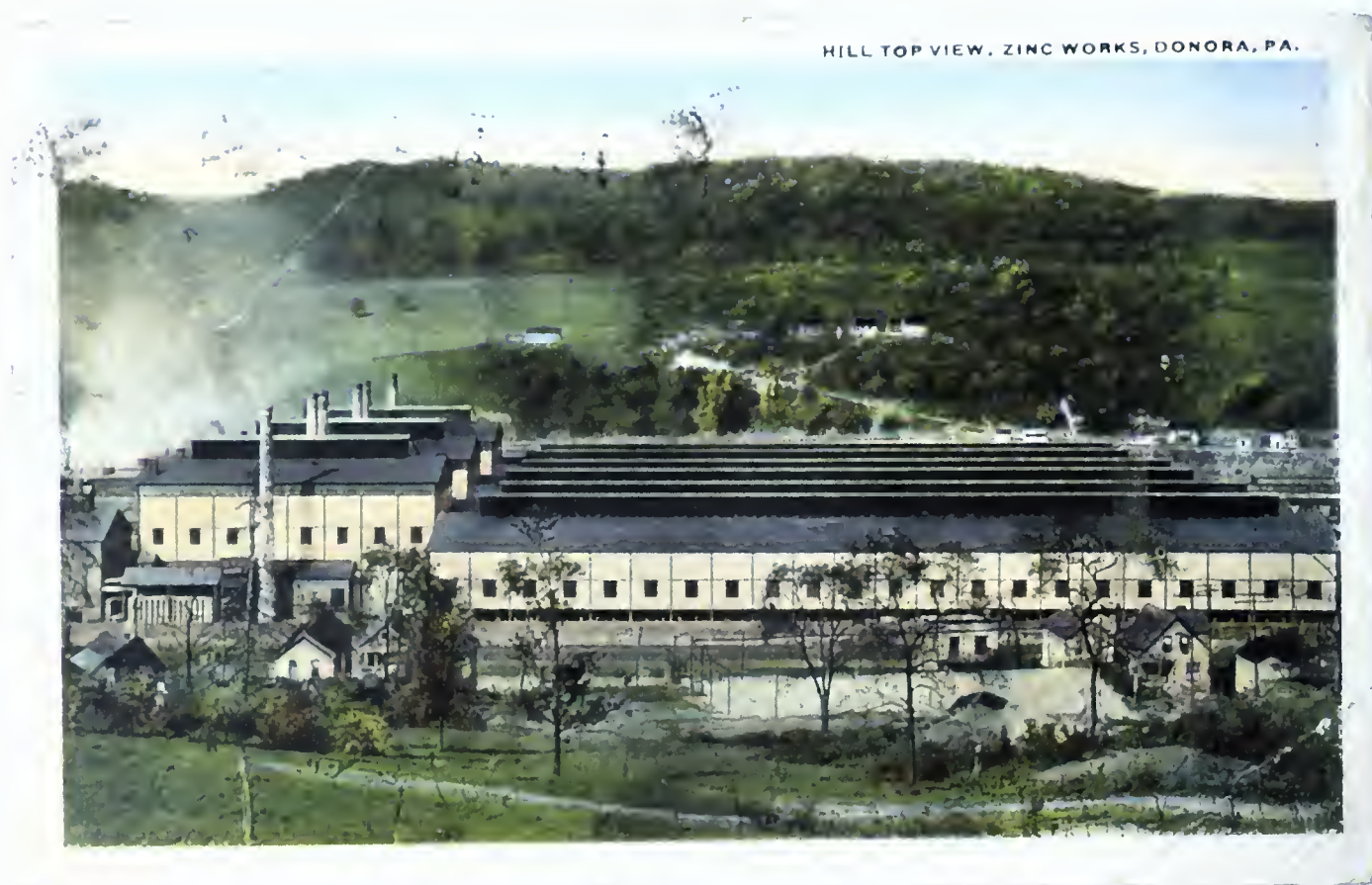


nationwide concerns regarding pollution and the environment. In her October 31, 1948, letter to Governor Duff she poignantly states that "life itself is more precious than your job" in reference to the possible closing of the zinc mill that produced the deadly pollutants. In addition to ill effects suffered from air pollution, Mrs. Bainbridge's letter refers to fish in the Monongahela River dying as a result of water pollution. As a result of this incident, in 1949 the Commonwealth established the Division of Air Pollution Control to monitor industrial emissions.

Additional documents within the Donora Disaster File include Pennsylvania Department of Health investigative reports into the causes of the smog disaster, Red Cross memoranda regarding

efforts to assist the community with emergency medical equipment and related aid, and a petition to "abolish poison gas emission" in reference to Donora's zinc plant. The Bainbridge letter in the James H. Duff Papers (Manuscript Group 190), along with related correspondence, government documents, and technical information, make this archival collection an important source of information for researchers of environmental, social, and political issues. The Donora Smog disaster, as revealed by the Duff Papers, awoke the nation to the dangers of industrial pollution and led to positive changes in public and private attitudes and policies regarding environmental protection.

▼ *Hilltop View of Zinc Works, Donora.*
Washington County, Manuscript Group
213, Postcard Collection.



Hebster, Pa.
Oct. 31, 1948.

Ly

Hon. James H. Duff.
Harrisburg, Pa.
Dear Sir:

I am writing for "Smoke Control" in Washington County. Pittsburgh has it, why can't Donora after the tragedy of Oct. 30. & 31st.

The Zinc Works has ruined Donora & Hebster. The company has talked about moving it for years but nothing has been done about it. Perhaps this will awaken some of the high officials who have built beautiful homes outside of Donora in the surrounding country where vegetation will grow.

The towns of Monaca, Charlestown and Monongahela, adjacent to Donora & Hebster had fog but there weren't 20 deaths as Donora & Hebster had. There is something in the Zinc Works causing these deaths. It could be moved & electric furnaces installed. That would help consume the fumes & do away with that awful acid smoke. It eats the paint off your houses. Even fish cannot live in the Monaca, busy person but will you please consider this letter a little bit?

The Zinc Works is very old fashioned & so I, so
now!"
Thanking you,
Respectfully yours,
Mrs. Lois Bainbridge.
Box 254.
Hebster, Pa.

Lois Bainbridge's Letter to Governor James H. Duff concerning the Donora Smog Disaster, October 31, 1948, Two page handwritten letter in ink on paper, 8 1/2" x 11." Manuscript Group 190, James H. Duff Collection. Subject File.





*"When I fired out
the first ball
to the Pirates,
catcher Smokey
Burgess told me
it was a strike
when he returned
the ball."*

▲ Governor David I. Lawrence holding newspaper with headline "Bucs Are Champs", 14 October 1960. Record Group 12, Records of the Department of Highways, Bureau of Public Information, Photographic Unit, Governor's File of Photographs and Negatives.

1960

Governor David L. Lawrence proudly shows off the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* newspaper headline proclaiming the Pittsburgh Pirates' victory over the New York Yankees in the 1960 World Series. Pirate second baseman Bill Mazeroski hit a home run on a one to nothing pitch from Yankee hurler Ralph Terry over the left field wall at Forbes Field in the ninth inning of game seven of the series, to give the Pittsburgh Pirates a world championship. The photograph on the front page of the newspaper shows Mazeroski running, with his right arm up stretched victoriously, as he nears home plate where his teammates await him. Mazeroski's solo blast broke a nine to nine tie in the game and gave the Pirates their first World Series title since 1925. Mazeroski's shot marked the first time in major league baseball history that a World Series was decided by a walk-off home run.

The image on the opposite page depicts Governor David L. Lawrence seated behind a desk in his office at the state capitol and the photographer's logbook lists the caption for this photograph as, "Gov. with Pitts. Newspaper 'Pirates Champs'." The Department of Highways' Photographic Unit was originally formed to take photographs of road conditions and improvements throughout the state. After 1920, photographs in this collection were increasingly taken for the purpose of publicity or public education. By the 1950s, the photographic unit was doing work for many other state agencies. The unit today is known as Commonwealth Media Services.

Governor Lawrence was born in Pittsburgh on June 18, 1889, and grew up in the Golden Triangle area of that city. Lawrence was a four-term mayor of Pittsburgh, first being elected to that post in 1945, and served as governor from 1959 to 1963. Lawrence was a lifelong fan and supporter of the Pittsburgh Pirates and wrote a series of articles chronicling the 1960 World Series for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* newspaper. His articles began on the first day of the series, October 5, and continued

until several days after the series was over. In his first article, Governor Lawrence predicted that the Pirates would win the World Series in five games. The Commissioner of Baseball, Ford Frick, asked Lawrence to throw out the first ball before game one of the series in Pittsburgh. In his column the next day, Lawrence wrote about his first pitch experience, "When I fired out the first ball to the Pirates, catcher Smokey Burgess told me it was a strike when he returned the ball. I thought I tossed a blooper like Rip Sewell, the old Pirate pitcher once threw." Upon settling back into his seat, Governor Lawrence whistled and clapped so hard for the Pirates in game one that it drew comments from nearby Yankee fans.

While fans celebrated wildly, Pirate players seemed to be stunned after the game. Most of the players "just sat in their lockers, some apparently too stunned by the unusual series of events in an unusual Series to realize the Pirates were world champions for the first time in thirty-five years." When asked about what he thought when he hit his series-winning homer, Mazeroski answered simply, "I was too happy to think. I don't know what I thought." After the first six games of the World Series, the Yankees had scored a total of forty-six runs. The Pirates had only scored seventeen. And yet, the series was deadlocked at three games apiece before the seventh and decisive game. The Yankees set series records with fifty-five runs scored, ninety-one hits tallied, and a team batting average of .338 in 1960, yet the Pirates secured an unlikely victory thanks to Mazeroski's clutch home run in the ninth inning of game seven.

Governor Lawrence summed up the 1960 World Series in his last article for the *Post-Gazette*, "Never, in all my years of watching baseball, have I ever seen a more dramatic finish or such a fighting comeback as staged by our great stout-hearted Pittsburgh Pirates. . . . We salute you, our Pennsylvania Pirates, the world's greatest baseball team."

▼ Public business was at first conducted in inns, meetinghouses, and private homes. Detail from first page of the first volume of the Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10th of First Month 1682/3. Record Group 21, Records of the Proprietary Government.

(1)

A Council held at Philadelphia the 10th of First Month 1683.

Present.
 Wm. Penn Proprietor and Govern^r of Pensilvania and
 Assisted
 Cap^t Wm. Markham Wm. Flaig^r Edm. Cantwell Wm.
 Christo: Taylor Jn. Mott Wm. Clayton Wm.
 Thomas Holmes Reper Wilbro Wm. Bilts
 Lane Cook Jn. Lincox James Harrison

Then the Sheriffs of each County were called in - viz.
 For the County of Philadelphia - John Felt
 For the County of Chester - Thomas Usher
 For the County of Bucks - Richard Nott
 For the County of Newcastle - Edm. Cantwell
 For the County of Kent - Bbr. Barcomb
 For the County of Surry - John Vind

The Govern^r ordered that one speak at a time standing face to the Chair.

A Debate being about the Balloting Box, the Question
 Whether the Ballot should be used with Caps, passed
 The Question being put, whether they would have

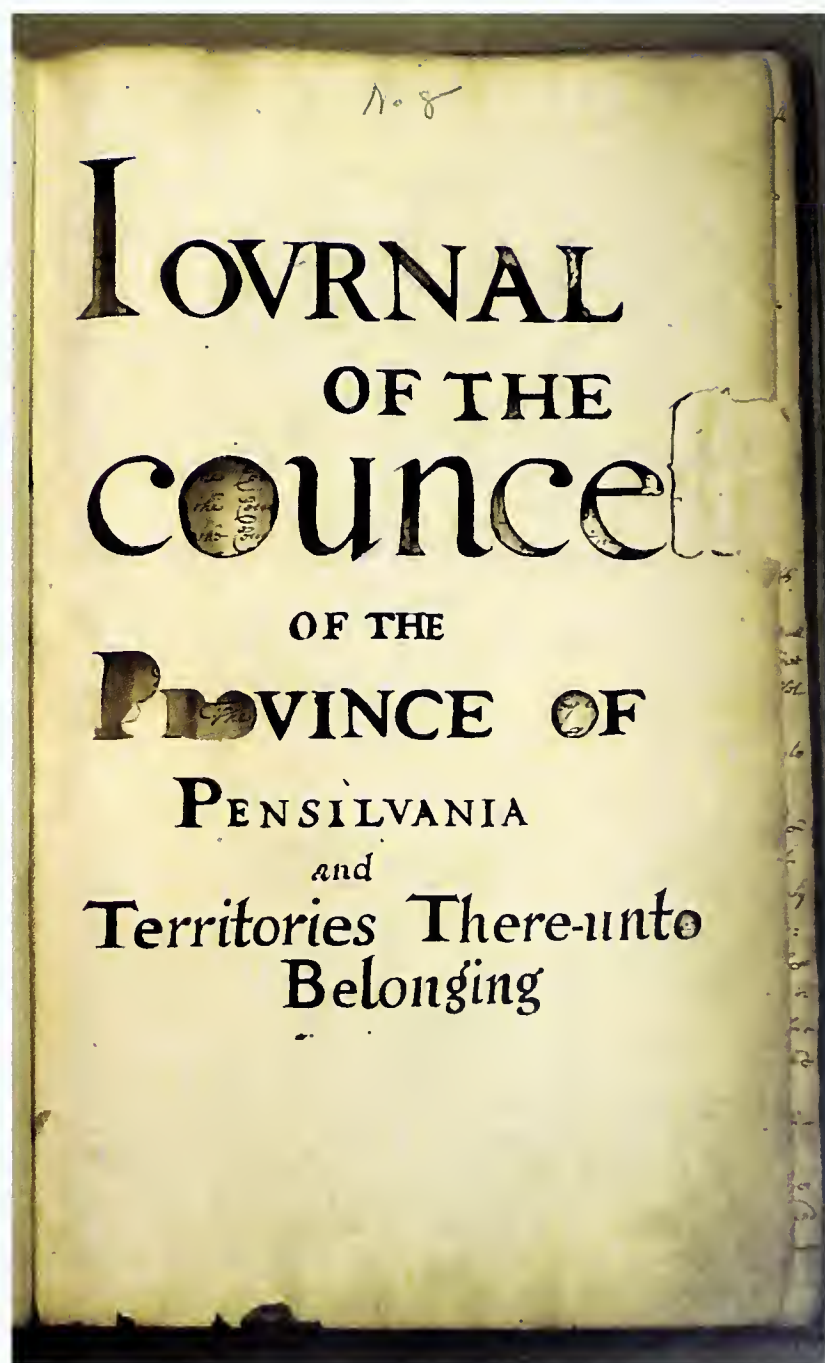
Pennsylvania's Capitols

1682

For over half a century after its inception in 1682, the General Assembly had no fixed meeting place, conducting its business in and around Philadelphia in a variety of inns, meeting houses, markets, and private homes. The first permanent state house was the building now known as Independence Hall, designed by Andrew Hamilton in 1729. Although construction of the building was still unfinished, the Assembly began holding sessions in this first State House in October 1736. Improvements under the direction of architect Edmund Wooley continued to be made for two more decades until the tower was finally completed in 1758.

When the General Assembly and the Continental Congress were forced to flee Philadelphia in September 1777, the Assembly reconvened in the old county courthouse in Lancaster while the Continental Congress took up residence in the county courthouse in York. After the British army withdrew from Philadelphia in 1778, the Assembly returned to the State House in Philadelphia. As populations expanded westward, the capital was relocated to Lancaster in 1799 where the General Assembly, now a bicameral body under the Constitution of 1790, again took up residence in the county courthouse. Eleven years later, an act was passed to move the state's capital even further westward to Harrisburg where the Dauphin County Courthouse became the seat of government in October 1812. On May 31, 1819, Governor William Findlay laid the cornerstone for the first permanent state capitol in Harrisburg—a Greek Revival style build-

► Title Page to volume 1 of the *Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10th of First Month 1682/3—18th of Tenth Month, 1688. Record Group 21, Records of the Proprietary Government.*





ing designed and erected by Stephen Hills—in which the legislature held its first session in January 1822. This capitol was consumed by fire on February 2, 1897. According to fire department records and local newspaper accounts, Senator John Grady of Philadelphia first smelled smoke around 10:30 A.M., but an initial investigation found nothing visibly amiss. As the smoky scent grew more pronounced, Senate President Pro Tem Samuel McCarrell of Dauphin County called a recess just after noon, during which several senators and their aides stayed behind to search for the source of the odor. They found the lieutenant governor's room filled with smoke, and when Senator Henry Saylor of Montgomery County used a hatchet on the flooring, a fire was discovered burning underneath the floorboards. A hastily formed bucket brigade of Senate attachés proved helpless against the flames, now spreading inside the wall partitions around the second story. Chief Clerk Charles Smiley oversaw an effort to rescue many of the official records stored in the building while there was

▲ *Color tinted photographic print of the Philadelphia State House, now called Independence Hall, ca. 1905, unprocessed accession. Record Group 13, Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.*

► *Accounts for moving the state capital from Philadelphia to Lancaster, September 6, 1799. Record Group 4, Records of the Office of Comptroller General. Internal Improvements File.*

still time. Luckily, the most valuable records were already in one of two fireproof buildings flanking the main capitol, which had been built before 1812 in anticipation of the move to Harrisburg. The library, Civil War flags, and museum artifacts had already been moved into the new executive office building completed in 1894 (now the Speaker Matthew J. Ryan Building).

Meanwhile, in the opposite wing of the building the House of Representatives continued to transact business as usual, with some members even finding it humorous that the Senate Chamber was in flames. As the seriousness of the situation grew,

Gentlemen,

Please to pay to M^r. Elijah W. Glenachan the sum of Twenty Dollars for removing Books, Papers Chests Desks &c. belonging to the Office of Register General from the City of Philadelphia to the Borough of Lancaster pursuant to the Law for the removal of the seat of Government.

Your Obed^t Serv^t

Lancaster 6th Sept^r 1799

Sam^l Bryan

Mess^{rs} Barker, Boudin & Strickler Esq^{rs}

Commissioners for superintending the removal of the Public Offices to the Borough of Lancaster.

D^r. Sir

Mess^{rs} Boudin & Strickler have left me without money, I expect to see them in the course of a few days, if you can advance the above sum you will oblige me & the Wearer who lives at a distance from Town, Your Friend &c

Peter Warrington Esq^r
6th Oct^r 99.

M. Warrington



▲ Pennsylvania capitol designed by Stephen T. Forman; photograph was taken sometime in the early 1800, when it had the addition of round center (former), authorized in 1864 and completed after the Civil War. Manuscript Group 115, Warren J. Hilder Collection.

■ The exterior of the first capitol in ruins after the 1861 fire. Manuscript Group 115, Daniel H. Garrison Paper.



they joined their colleagues in trying to save what property and papers they could. Representative Charles Voorhees of Philadelphia was the last person to leave the House Chamber as the fire raced across its ceiling and an explosion was heard in the central dome. Though many members of the Assembly narrowly escaped from falling debris, there was no loss of life. As the dome was engulfed at 1:19 P.M., the halyard of the flag flying atop it caught fire. Slowly, the flag descended into the flames and was consumed. Snow and freezing rain that day helped to prevent the spread of the fire to the adjacent Treasury Building. The House

and Senate remained in session in the halls of nearby Grace Methodist Church.

An investigation into the cause of the blaze determined that an ember from an unattended fire in the lieutenant governor's open fireplace probably dropped through a crack in the floor boards and set alight the dry, dusty joists and beams beneath, along which the fire spread. Once the flames reached the rotunda, a huge flue was produced. The total loss from the fire was concluded to be \$800,000 of which only \$190,000 was covered by insurance.



▲ Following the fire, sessions of the legislature continued to be held in the sanctuary of Grace Methodist Church. View of the interior ca. 1897. Manuscript Group 214, Warren J. Harder Collection.



*"There are scores
of farmers' barns
in Pennsylvania
more attractive than
this building,"
Governor Hastings
complained.*

*The capitol designed by Henry Ives Cobb, 1901. Manuscript
Group 214, Warren J. Harder Collection.*

1901

Several months after the old capitol was destroyed by fire, Governor Hastings signed legislation on April 14, 1897, appropriating \$550,000 for the building of a new capitol on the site of the old one. Some legislators complained that this sum was insufficient to build “anything but a cheap, embarrassing building,” and discord reigned within the Capitol Building Commission. After thirty-one design proposals were reviewed, Chicago architect Henry Ives Cobb won the contract. Hampered by inadequate funding, Cobb and his contractor erected an incomplete building where the Senate met for the first time on January 3, 1899. Despite the fact that the unfinished structure was little more than a shell, its appearance was ridiculed. “There are scores of farmers’ barns in Pennsylvania more attractive than this building,” Governor Hastings complained. “It is made of common brick embedded in cheap mortar, looks like a hastily erected factory building, and is repulsive to the eye.” In 1901, a new Capitol Building Commission was established and a new design competition advertised. This time, a cladding of first quality granite was specified, and participation was limited to Pennsylvania architects, thereby effectively denying Cobb the opportunity to complete his own building.

The winner of the 1901 competition was Joseph M. Huston, a relatively inexperienced Philadelphia architect with a grand vision. He intended the new capitol, which was to be built over Cobb’s structure, to be a monument to the American Renaissance style and a “palace of art.” Huston borrowed from European architecture, modeling the dome on St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome and the grand staircase on that in the Paris Opera House. Larger than St. Paul’s Cathedral, Huston’s original structure is 520 feet long, 254 feet wide, covers two acres of ground, and boasts a 272 foot high dome weighing fifty-two million pounds. For decoration of the interior, Huston selected a variety of artisans, many of whom were Pennsylvanians. Henry Chapman Mercer designed the Moravian tile floor that contains 377 unique mosaics. Edwin Austin Abbey and Violet Oakley painted the murals in the House, Senate, and Supreme Court chambers. William Brantley Van Ingen designed the twenty-four round stained glass windows in the House and Senate chambers, and George Grey Barnard sculpted the marble statuary flanking the capitol’s main entrance.

With the lavish interior artwork far from complete, the new capitol was dedicated on October 4, 1906, by Governor Samuel Pennypacker in a ceremony witnessed by fifty thousand people. Though President Roosevelt, who gave the main address, had previously praised Huston’s grand edifice as “the handsomest building I’ve ever seen” and “the most beautiful state capitol in the nation,” he failed to repeat these expressions in his public speech that day. The omission may have been prompted by the fact that the new capitol had by then become as embroiled in criticism and financial troubles as its predecessor. In the spring of 1906, newly elected State Treasurer William H. Berry began finding evidence of graft and corruption in the payment of construction bills. Auditors discovered poor bookkeeping practices on the part of the state and suspected overcharging and misrepresentation of services by both the architect and the contractors.

While \$4 million had been approved and appropriated for the project, it turned out that over three times that amount had been spent. Governor Samuel Pennypacker later argued in *The Desecration and Profanation of the Pennsylvania Capitol* that the politically motivated charges of graft and corruption were completely unjustified. Pennypacker pointed out that the \$4 million dollars was only ever intended to cover the cost of constructing the shell of the building for which the Capitol Building Commission was responsible. The furnishing and outfitting of the building fell into the domain of the Board of Public Grounds and Buildings, and no funds had originally been set aside for these expenses when construction on the building commenced. Huston himself was nonetheless eventually charged with conspiracy and though the jury at first acquitted him of all charges, the judge threatened the jury with sequestration until it returned a guilty verdict. Huston served half a year in prison in 1911 and was quoted as saying, “this was my first public building, and God willing it will be my last.” It was. Though Huston received a gubernatorial pardon, the controversy ruined his career. Despite the allegations of corruption, half a century after its completion the historian Hubertis Cummings maintained that Huston’s capitol was “incomparably handsome in the exterior and interior, exquisite in a thousand of its details.” It would be difficult to disagree. In November 1998, the Pennsylvania State Capitol Building was officially designated a “Commonwealth Treasure” by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.







▲ Theodore Roosevelt delivers his speech at the dedication ceremony for the new Pennsylvania State Capitol Building, October 4, 1906, photographed by William H. Rau. Manuscript Group 152, S. Emerson Bolton Photograph Collection.

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Anne Marie Ickes, archivist

David Shoff, archivist

Cover:

*A 1739 map of Pennsylvania and Maryland with the counties of
Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, see page 78.*

Back Cover—from top to bottom, left to right:

*Warrant for Resurvey of Land in Bucks County signed by William Penn,
1701. Record Group 17, Records of the Land Office. Original Warrants.*

*Pennsylvania Highway Policeman. Record Group 12, Records of the
Department of Highways. Main File.*

*State Capitol Building after the fire of February, 1897. Manuscript Group
214, Warren J. Harder Collection.*

*Pennsylvania State Capitol, ca. 1880. Manuscript Group 389, James A.
Beaver Papers.*

Inside flap:

*Harrisburg High School Football Team, 1895 State Champions
Manuscript Group 217, Harrisburg Home Star Collection.*

Pennsylvania

William Penn. Absolute Proprietary & Governour
in Chief of the Province of Pensilvania and Countys annexed

U. S. Dept. of the Office of Joseph Milnor That I should grant them a Refurvey on a
certain Tract of Land in Westfield Township in the County of Berks, reputed to containe 295 Acres
and out by my Warrant and confirmed by my Comm^o to Rowd Hoff and from him derive by
several Legal Conveyances to the P. Milnor. Also on another Tract in the said Township said
out to the P. Milnor for Warr^t from my self for 300 Acres. These are to require thee
forthwith to Refurvey or cause to be Refurvey'd the said two Tracts according to their high
Boundes and Lines of Survey and make Returns thereof into my Secretaries Office. Given
under my Hand and Seal at Philadelphia the 31st Day of the first Month 1701

Edward Pennington Surveyor general to
the Province of Pennsylvania & Territories

Am. P. H. C.



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ISBN 0-89271-111-6

\$32.95

ISBN 0-89271-111-6



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